1820 – 1895

FREDERICK ENGELS

E. STEPANOVA

FREDERICK ENGELS

Novosti Press Agency Publishing House
Moscow, 1970

c.8 8194

CONTENTS

Childhood and Youth 5

Beginning of Political Activity 13

Transition to Materialism and Communism . . 21

Collaboration with Marx. Elaboration of the Principles of Scientific Communism. Struggle for a Proletarian Party (1844-1848) . . . 29

Engels in Revolution (1848-1849) 45

Engels in the Period of Reaction and a Fresh Upswing of the Bourgeois-Democratic Movement 78

Engels in the Period of the First International and the Paris Commune 93

Engels After the Paris Commune and the First International. Death of Marx (1883) . . . 118

Engels After the Death of Marx (1883-1895) . 140

Childhood and Youth

Frederick Engels was born on November 28, 1820 in the town of Barmen, Germany. His father was a textile manufacturer.

In those days the Rhine Province of Prussia was the most industrialised area in Germany. While manufactories, homecrafts and manual labour were still widespread in the rest of Germany, here machines were making their appearance and factories were springing up. The Rhineland was where in Germany large-scale capitalist industry, born in Britain, began its triumphant march.

Several factors facilitated industrial development in the Rhine Province. First, the existence of natural wealth in the shape of iron ore and coal. Second, the impact of the French bourgeois revolution of the late 18th century was more pronounced here than in the rest of Germany: feudal relations and serfdom had been abolished on the left bank of the Rhine. Through the emergence of large-scale capitalist industry the Rhine Province already had a growing industrial pro-

letariat, and the contradictions between the working class and the bourgeoisie, typical of capitalist society, were growing more and more conspicuous.

The capitalist factory system was bringing in its wake further hardships—greater impoverishment and exploitation of the working masses. Machines allowed the factory owners to use female and child labour on an unprecedented scale. Competition from underpaid female and child labour was cutting the wages of the workers. In the Rhineland, as everywhere else, capitalist development was accompanied by the ruin of the peasants, the artisans and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

All his life Engels was to remember the poverty and suffering that he had observed as a child in his native Wuppertal.[1] In his very first work as a publicist, *Letters from Wuppertal* (1839), he vividly described the hard life of the factory workers, handicraftsmen and artisans of Barmen and Elberfeld.

Engels, then 19, wrote of the horrible poverty, particularly among factory workers in Wuppertal, with genuine sympathy. He deplored the employment of child labour at the factories: in Elberfeld 1,200 out of 2,500 children of school age never saw the inside of a school—they grew up at the factories, where they received less than half the wage of an adult worker. Engels showed that the working conditions at the factories had a most pernicious effect on the health both of

---

[1] Wuppertal, valley of the Wupper River, where two towns—Barmen and Elberfeld—were situated a three hours' drive from each other.

children and adult workers. He regarded the "scandalous practices of the factory owners" as the principal cause of the workers' hardships and suffering.

Large-scale capitalist industry affected the position also of handicraftsmen and artisans. To compete with the factories the weaver had to work at his loom from sunup to sundown and deny himself the bare necessities.

A major centre of the textile industry, Wuppertal, the German Manchester, was in those days a seat of religious obscurantism and superstition, a mainstay of Pietism, the most intolerant and bigoted branch of the Protestant Church. In a letter written when he was a young man, Engels called Wuppertal "Muckertal" ("bigoted valley"). The pious Wuppertal factory owners and superintendents sought to "brighten" the life of the workers and artisans with the Bible and alcohol in order to divert them from the struggle and reconcile them to the existing system.

"If, as was the case in those days," Engels later recalled, "the Wuppertal workers could only choose between the earthly wine of the pubs and the heavenly wine of the Pietist priests, it was not surprising that they chose the former, bad as it was." [1]

In Wuppertal "public opinion" was determined by fanatic preachers. Regular trials of "heretics" were held at meetings of believers: the stigma of heresy was tagged onto everybody who did not attend religious meetings, who read novels or were seen at concerts. In schools instruction was

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 15, p. 300.

conducted in the same spirit. Engels went first to a school in Barmen and then to a Gymnasium in Elberfeld. He recalled that when one of the boys asked the teacher who Goethe was, the teacher replied: "A heretic."

This was the atmosphere in which the impressionable and observant boy grew up.

The atmosphere in the family was no better. Engels' father was fiercely devout and ruled the family despotically. The whole family, including Engels' loving but weak-willed mother, lived in fear of the tyrant. Self-willed Frederick who had an inquiring mind displayed a keen, penetrating intellect and a bent for independent thinking even as a boy, and the family must have regarded him as an ugly duckling. From a letter written by his father to his mother we get an idea of their anxiety over the rearing of their 15-year-old son.

"Last week Frederick's marks were only fair. Outwardly, as you know, he has become somewhat more polite, but all the stern punishment he has received seems to have failed to teach him total obedience, even in the fear of punishment. For example, today he disappointed me again: in his drawer I found a dirty book borrowed from the library, a story about 13th-century knights... May God protect his soul, but I often fear for this generally fine boy... With all his splendid qualities he continues to display a certain spinelessness and instability of thought. This worries me." [1]

What the fanatically religious father termed

---

[1] Gustav Mayer, *Friedrich Engels*, Vol. 1, pp. 9-10.

"spinelessness and instability of thought" was in fact independence of thought and desire to tear oneself away from the bigoted atmosphere.

Extremely gifted, he was attracted in his schooldays to literature, art, music and foreign languages. He wrote poems and drew clever cartoons. Naturally merry and vivacious, he was physically strong and mobile. He was good at horse-riding, fencing and swimming. All his life he remained a devotee of sports and physical exercise.

On his father's insistence he cut short his education in the Gymnasium on September 15, 1837, one class left to finish. His father had counted on Frederick, who was the eldest boy, becoming a merchant and wanted him to study commerce. After working in his father's office for a year, Frederick was sent by his father to work in a large commercial firm in Bremen.

However, he could not devote himself entirely to his duties. He was not at all delighted at the prospect of becoming a merchant. Whenever he could he used his spare time reading. It was in this period that he revealed his colossal capacity for work and ability to use his time expediently and live a full life. He would pore over a book early in the morning before going to the office. "Nowhere is reading so absorbing," he wrote to his friends, "as in the garden on a clear spring morning, with pipe in mouth and the sun beating down on your back." [1]

In Bremen, a large trading port, Engels had a chance to read English, Dutch, French and

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 296.

other newspapers. He obtained literature that was banned in Germany, and sent it on to his friends in Barmen. Books and newspapers filled the gap in his education and gave him a broader world outlook. Moreover, by reading foreign newspapers he made marvelous progress in the study of languages. In a letter to his sister Marie he jokingly wrote that he could read in 25 languages. He sometimes wrote multilingual letters to his friends.

"...Since I'm writing a multilingual letter, I shall now go over to English, or better still—my beautiful Italian, tender and gentle as the zephyr with words that are like flowers plucked from the loveliest of gardens, and Spanish which is like the wind rustling in the trees, and Portuguese that sounds like the wash of the sea on a shore adorned with flowers and lawns, and French that is like the rapid gurgling of a rippling brook, and Dutch, which is cosy as smoke from a pipe." [1]

Nineteen-year-old Engels did write in all these languages, though not flawlessly.

While in Bremen, Engels went in for poetry. He wished to emulate Ferdinand Freiligrath, a noted poet who had been a shop assistant in Barmen.

After the dullness of Wuppertal, Engels revelled in the opportunity to go to theatres and concerts: he was fond of singing and music, particularly Beethoven's symphonies. As before, he found time for swimming, fencing and horse-riding.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 294.

His observations of life and the huge number of books he absorbed intensified his early critical attitude to the little world in which he was born and to the views and prejudices of the merchants and priests among whom he had been brought up.

His father was determined to direct his spiritual development and obtained lodgings for him in the house of a priest in Bremen. But that was where Frederick found himself assailed by torturing religious doubts and he made a clean break with the faith of his forefathers.

The letters he wrote to the Graeber brothers mirror the intense inner struggle that he was living through at the time. When he came to realise that the Bible contained insoluble contradictions and that science could not be reconciled with religion, he renounced the traditions and philosophy of his family and friends.

"I know," he wrote to a friend, "that I shall only invoke infinite trouble, but I cannot rid myself, however much I try, of what is dictated to me by the force of conviction... When it is a matter of defending freedom of thought I protest against any compulsion." [1]

Immense willpower, ideological courage and lofty principles strikingly come to the fore in young Frederick's letters to his friends.

In Engels' final rupture with religion an important role was played by David Strauss' *Das Leben Jesu*. In this book, published in 1835, Strauss disputed the existence of the biblical Christ and proved that the Bible was based on

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 304.

myth and legend and that it was the product of the creative efforts of the early Christian communities. In a letter of October 8, 1839 Engels informed Wilhelm Graeber that he had become an enthusiastic follower of Strauss and that under Strauss' influence he had found religion to be as full of holes as a sponge.

After Frederick had shaken off the straightjacket of Christianity, he felt free. In place of the "Wuppertal faith," he sought to evolve a new world outlook and began to ponder over political problems. His childhood impressions were replaced by the observations and reflections of a clever, gifted, daring and perspicacious youth. The social and political atmosphere obtaining in those years in pre-revolutionary Germany and the neighbouring countries provided much food for these observations and reflections and helped to mould young Frederick's world outlook.

Beginning of Political Activity

Engels' youth and the formation of his philosophical and political views coincided with a period which witnessed an intensification of the class struggle in a number of West-European countries, the turning point being the revolution of July 1830 in France. Although the direct practical outcome of that revolution was only the replacement of the semi-feudal monarchy by a monarchy resting on the big financiers and stockbrokers, its echo thundered over the whole of Europe and unseated the reign of deep-rooted reaction. The revolution in France was followed by uprisings in Belgium, Poland, Italy and Spain. The first independent class battles of the proletariat (uprisings of the Lyons weavers in 1831 and 1834) took place in France after the 1830 revolution, in which the workers were the decisive force in the fighting at the barricades. The class struggle also grew in intensity in England. The English industrial bourgeoisie came to power in 1832 as a result of the parliamentary reform. The contradictions between the bour-

geoisie and the proletariat grew more pronounced. The workers had been active in the struggle for the parliamentary reform and had supported the political demands of the bourgeoisie, but when they saw that they had been betrayed they launched their own movement (Chartism).

News of the July revolution in France sparked popular unrest also in some parts of Germany which was economically backward and politically dismembered. Though the German government was taken by surprise, it soon recovered and set about suppressing the least manifestation of political discontent with redoubled fury. It seemed that grave-like tranquility would resume its reign in Germany. But this was only an outward appearance. Police persecution could no longer suppress the deep-seated discontent. In Germany the second half of the 1830s and the early 1840s witnessed an activation of social life and the emergence of various opposition groups and trends among the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. This opposition, which was particularly strong in the industrially advanced Rhine Province, was levelled at the Prussian autocratic monarchy, the rule of the feudal landowners and police brutality. While as yet not venturing to come out openly onto the political scene as political parties, the opposition elements set up literary and philosophical groups, which used artistic and philosophical works as the vehicles of their timid criticism.

One of these groups, the so-called Young Hegelians, was composed of Hegel's Left-wing disciples.

Unlike other philosophers, Hegel regarded all the phenomena in the world dialectically—from the standpoint of their rise, development and

destruction. Employing his dialectical method, he made an attempt to lay bare the inner laws governing the development of Nature and human society, and bring to light the struggle of opposites underlying this development.

Nineteen year old Engels's correspondence and his first literary efforts show his political activities and revolutionary mood.

Some of his verse was published in *Telegraph für Deutschland*, organ of Young Germany (Jungen Deutschlands), a radical literary group. Despite this group's ideological immaturity and the looseness of its political views, its striving to bring literature nearer to social life and draw it into the political struggle attracted Engels. However, this did not prevent him from adopting a critical attitude towards the Young Germany writers and poets. He wrote with irony of their *Weltschmerz*, of the sentimental pessimism in their writings. Sentiments of this kind were intrinsically alien to him. However dreary the situation was in Germany, Engels never lost his optimism, rejoiced in the coming struggle and was confident of victory.

Gradually he gave up the lyre of the poet for the pen of the publicist. His articles, published in *Telegraph für Deutschland* and signed F. Oswald, had a much greater impact than his verse. His *Letters from Wuppertal* started a storm of indignation in that bigoted, exploiter society, which Engels exposed. But it never occurred to anybody to look in the esteemed family of the Barmen manufacturer for the author who had stirred the Wuppertal anthill. He told his friends that he had written the articles but asked them to keep this information under their hat.

In the articles published in *Telegraph für Deutschland* and in letters to his friends Engels came forward as an ardent revolutionary-democrat. They were permeated with his hatred of the monarchy, his profound sympathy for oppressed peoples and his revolutionary spirit. "There has never been a time so filled with the crimes of kings as the period from 1816 to 1830," he wrote to a friend. "Almost every king reigning at the time earned the death sentence." He wrote with particular hate and scorn of the Prussian king Frederick William III. "The most rotten, loathsome and accursed king," Engels called him, and ended this letter with the words: "Oh, I could tell you some amusing stories about the love of kings for their subjects. I expect something good from a king only when his head rings with the slaps he has received from the people and when the windows of his palace have been smashed by a revolution." [1]

Engels did not, of course, have the opportunity of stating his political views so openly in the press. But in his articles he attacked the monarchy, the system of social estates, the privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the arbitrary rule of the landowners and officials.

He mocked the nobles who plumed themselves on their genealogy: "...barons from head to toe, in every drop of blood the fruit of sixty-four equal marriages, and in every glance a challenge!" [2] He acridly criticised feudal landownership and foresaw that sooner or later the anger of

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 338.

[2] Ibid., p. 360.

the people denied land would come down on the heads of the nobility and on the monarchy, which depended on them. Calling for the abolition of the system of social estates and of nobiliary privileges, he proclaimed the slogan: "No estates, but only a great, united, equal nation of citizens!"

In his articles he urged that Germany's economic and political unity should be the principal objective of the bourgeois revolution (at the time Germany consisted of 38 large, small and minute principalities). "As long as our Fatherland is dismembered," he wrote, "we shall be nothing politically, and social life crowned with constitutionalism, freedom of the press and all our other demands shall be good wishes not destined to come true." [1]

In advocating a united, democratic German state, Engels was opposed to Prussia's attempts to secure supremacy in the course of the country's unification. He declared uncompromising war on this most reactionary of the German states, believing that the flood of history would smash the "dam of conservatism and Prussianism."

Such were the political ideas which Engels enlarged on in the articles and letters written while he was employed by the commercial firm in Bremen. These political views still further widened the breach that appeared in Engels' relations with his old school friends as a result of his rupture with the "Wuppertal faith." Horrified by his political views, his friends endeavoured

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 376.

to "bring him to his senses," for which they were sharply and derisively ridiculed.

"It's not for you a pushcap in politics," Engels wrote to Wilhelm Graeber on November 2, 1841. "To run down my political convictions. If you are left in peace in your rural parish—you do not, of course, aim higher—and given the possibility of taking a tranquil walk every evening with your madame and a string of offspring, so that no disaster befalls you, you will wallow in bliss and give no thought to the villian F. Engels, who argues against the existing order. Fine heroes you are!"[1]

This was one of Engels' last letter to his school friends. He could not help sensing the gulf that had opened between him and his friends during the period of a little over two years that he had resided in Bremen. In this period he had fought a tremendous inner battle as he moved rapidly towards the teaching of Hegel and a revolutionary interpretation of that teaching, from a vague dissatisfaction with what he saw around him to revolutionary-democratic views.

A broad world outlook, a revolutionary temperament and genuine sympathy for the sufferings of the working masses set the young Engels high above the society in which he lived.

* * *

In the spring of 1841 Engels returned to Wuppertal and presently began his term of military

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *From Early Works*, Russ. Ed., p. 388.

service. Although the sons of manufacturers could, with money, easily exempt themselves from military conscription, Engels preferred to serve his term.

In the autumn of 1841 he arrived in Berlin where he joined an artillery brigade as a volunteer. He experienced all the "charms" of Prussian military drill. In spite of everything, life in the Army gave him much: he studied military science and soon became a gunner.

He used his free time to attend lectures, particularly lectures on philosophy, at Berlin University as an external student. In Berlin he joined a circle of Young Hegelians.

Soon after arriving in Berlin he became active in philosophical battles the Left-wing Young Hegelians were fighting at the time. In December 1841 he published in *Telegraph für Deutschland* an article entitled *Schelling über Hegel (Schelling on Hegel)* and signed it F. Oswald; in the spring of 1842 his unsigned pamphlet *Schelling und die Offenbarung (Schelling and Revelation)* was brought out, and was soon followed by another unsigned pamphlet *Schelling der Philosoph in Christo (Schelling, the Philosopher in Christ)*. In these works he subjected Schelling's views to a profound criticism.

Engels' term of conscription ended on October 8, 1842. When he returned to Barmen his father suggested that he continue his commercial practice at the *Ermen and Engels* spinning mill in Manchester, England.

His father's motive was apparently not only to round off Frederick's commercial education but remove him from the growing tensions in pre-revolution Germany. Although Frederick had never

written anything for the press under his own name, his revolutionary-democratic views were evidently no secret to his family. It is not known if he made any attempt to oppose his father's plan. Possibly this plan fitted in with his own desires. In any case, his residence in Britain gave him much and was a turning-point in his life.

Transition to Materialism and Communism

Frederick Engels arrived in London on a fog-laden day in November 1842. The difference between London and Berlin mirrored the contrast between England, the classical capitalist country and homeland of large-scale machine industry, and Germany, which in those days was a backward, chiefly agrarian country.

In the mid-18th century England was a country of small towns, an undeveloped industry and a largely rural population. The industrial revolution changed the face of the country. With the invention of machines in the cotton, wool and other industries, with the appearance of the steam engine and with the mushrooming of factories Britain became an industrial power whose products were exported to all parts of the world. London grew along with the large industrial centres and a numerous working population. New classes—the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletariat—emerged.

Engels was so struck by the acuteness of the class contradictions in England that one of the

first articles written upon his arrival in that country began with the question whether a revolution was possible and probable in England. Answering this question, he wrote that the English industry had created a class of have-nots that was growing from day to day and was becoming increasingly aware that its material position could only be improved by the forcible subversion of the existing relations, by the overthrow of the landed and industrial aristocracy.

Engels studied the life and views of the workers and the forms and methods of their struggle. He did not confine himself to literature and official documents. In an address *To the Working Class of Great Britain*, used as a preface to his book *The Condition of the Working Class in England* he wrote: "I wanted to see you in your own homes, to observe you in your every-day life, to chat with you on your condition and grievances, to witness your struggles against the social and political power of your oppressors." [1]

Engels wandered about the bustling streets and working-class neighbourhoods of London, Leeds and Manchester. He came to know Manchester best of all, having lived there most of the time that he spent in England.

On these wanderings his companion was sometimes the German poet Georg Weerth, who wrote a series of articles about the conditions of the English workers. One of these articles ended with the words: "I am finishing my brief paper on the proletarians of England, and I am happy that one of Germany's most outstanding philo-

---

[1] F. Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, Oxford, 1958, p. 7.

sophical minds has taken up the pen to write a comprehensive work about the life of the English workers; this will be an invaluable work. At any rate this writer can present the facts in the true light better than I; he has spent some time in Manchester, cradle of the proletariat, and has had much more opportunity to observe the workers than I." [1]

The period that Engels spent in England witnessed the upsurge of the Chartist movement. Engels studied this movement not as a detached onlooker: he attended Chartist meetings and made the acquaintance of the leaders of the movement's Left wing. Many years later one of them, George Harney, recalled how a well-built young man speaking fluent English appeared in the editorial office of *The Northern Star*. He introduced himself as a regular reader of the newspaper and said he was interested in the Chartist movement. The young man was Engels.

Engels made the acquaintance also of British Socialists who expounded the views of Robert Owen, the great Utopian Socialist. He became a contributor to their organ, *The New Moral World*, writing about the socialist movement on the continent. In these articles he gave the British workers an idea about the socialist movement in France, Germany and Switzerland and acquainted them with the theories of the great French Utopian Socialists Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier, and with the views of Etienne Cabet, Pierre Leroux, Pierre Joseph Proudhon and Wilhelm Weitling. He gave them outlines of the philoso-

---

[1] Georg Weerth, *Sel. Works*, Russ. Ed., Gospolitizdat, 1953, p. 302.

phies of Kant, Fichte and Schelling, and of Hegel's teaching, which was the summit of German idealist philosophy. He showed the weak points and shortcomings of the views of the French Utopian Socialists and the German idealist philosophers, and noted their constructive contribution to world culture.

In his analysis of the prospects for socialism in Germany, Engels in those years still made allowance for the thought that Germans, whom he described as a philosophical nation, would achieve communism in their own, "philosophical" way, and that in Germany the conditions were on hand for the creation of a Communist Party among the educated and propertied classes.

In an article entitled *Progress of Social Reform on the Continent* he related that in the autumn of 1842 some of Hegel's Left-wing followers had decided that political reforms were not enough and that a social system conforming to their abstract principles would emerge only as a result of a social revolution establishing collective ownership.

Umrisse zu einer Kritik der Nationalökonomie, published in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, which was brought out in February 1844 in Paris under the editorship of Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge, was an important milestone in the formation of Engels' views.

This was the first work in which he criticised bourgeois political economy and, consequently, capitalism from the standpoint of the proletariat.

In criticising bourgeois economists, who hypocritically used humane verbiage to screen the mercenary interests of the bourgeoisie, Engels arrived at the conclusion that "the closer the eco-

nomists draw to our day, the farther they are from honesty."[1] In particular, he attacked the reactionary, man-hating theories of Malthus, who contended that the population's trend towards multiplication always exceeded its means of subsistence. Thus, Malthus blamed Nature for the ulcers and vices of capitalism. Engels proved that the productive forces at mankind's disposal were boundless, and that science was inexorably subordinating Nature to man. All that had to be done was to use these productive forces consciously, for the benefit of everybody. But this was only possible in a society in which private ownership would not predominate and there would be no poverty at one pole and a surfeit of wealth at the other.

The works written by Engels in England show that he was steadily moving to a materialistic world outlook. For instance, in an article on Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present* he criticised the author from materialist, atheistic positions for his attempts to found a new religion. Rejecting Carlyle's idealistic philosophy and its propagation of "hero worship," Engels underscored the decisive role of the masses in putting advanced ideas into effect.

His transition to materialistic positions is strikingly shown also in articles, written in this period, about the social and political system in England. He drew the conclusion that underlying the political struggle in England were the material interests of the different classes; he revealed the class nature of the parties fighting on the

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, 2nd Russ. Ed., Vol. 1, p. 547.

British political scene, and also of the British state.

In *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, which he completed after meeting Marx, and published in Germany in 1845, he summed up his observations of English life, particularly the life and struggle of the proletariat.

In this work he analysed the far-reaching effects of the industrial revolution in England which had led to the emergence of large-scale machine industry and the formation of an industrial proletariat. He brought to light a series of laws of capitalist production—periodic economic crises, the emergence of an industrial reserve army of unemployed, the intensification of the exploitation of the proletariat and other working masses in proportion to the expansion of capitalist production. Vividly and faithfully describing the working conditions of the workers—their wages, working day, housing, and back-breaking female and child labour which was undermining the workingman's family—Engels found that the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were irreconcilable.

In this book he reviewed the forms and methods of struggle used by the proletariat, how it advanced from initial, spontaneous forms of protest against ruthless exploitation to more organised and conscious forms of struggle.

At first the workers took their anger against the bourgeoisie out on machines. Engels described cases where workers hounded inventors, smashed their machines, and staged revolts during which they destroyed factories. In those days they could not see that their bitter plight was due not to machines but to the capitalist mode of produc-

tion based on private ownership of machines, factories and raw materials. In short, they could not distinguish between machines and their capitalist application.

However, the workers soon saw that they were gaining nothing from their attempts to level the factories with the ground. A new form of protest was needed. This was the establishment of trade unions to head the strike struggle. This form of struggle soon became very widespread in England. Engels stressed the immense part that was played by strikes in uniting the workers and enhancing their solidarity and organisation. "These stoppages of work are a training ground for the industrial proletariat and a preparation for the great campaign which draws inevitably nearer. Strikes are the manifestoes by which particular groups of trade-unionists pledge their adherence to the cause of the working class." [1]

In those days the English workers set models of higher forms of struggle as well. From scattered economic battles against individual capitalists they went over to a struggle against the collective power of the ruling classes—against the bourgeois state. A political movement of the English working class, known as Chartism, commenced at the close of the 1830s. Engels describes this movement in his book.

"Chartism," he wrote, "is the expression of a common policy which unites the workers solidly against the middle classes. When workers make common cause in trade unions or when they combine to go on strike to fight the middle classes

[1] F. Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, Oxford, 1958, p. 254.

their opposition is of only a local or piecemeal character... The whole working class is behind the great Chartist assault on the middle class—above all against the political and legal fortress which the bourgeoisie has erected to guard its interests." [1]

He proved that the political struggle, the revolutionary movement would inevitably bring the workers to socialism. On the other hand, in order to be translated from the dream of solitary Utopians into reality, socialism has to be the objective of a mass political struggle of the working class.

The epochal task of integrating socialism with the working-class movement and turning socialism from a Utopia into a science, from the dream of helpless individuals into the theory of a numerous and powerful class fell to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

---

[1] F. Engels, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, Oxford, 1958, p. 258.

Collaboration with Marx. Elaboration of the Principles of Scientific Communism. Struggle for a Proletarian Party (1844-1848)

Engels left Manchester at the end of August 1844. On his way home he stopped over in Paris, where he called on Karl Marx, who was living there at the time. The ten days they spent together in Paris laid the beginning of a life-long friendship and unparalleled collaboration between them—it was a union of two great minds which gave the working class a revolutionary theory and the foundations of strategy and tactics. Legends tell us of moving friendships. The European proletariat can say that its science was evolved by two scientists and fighters, whose relations to each other surpass the most moving tales of the ancients about human friendships.

In the transition of Marx and Engels to materialism an immense role was played by the German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach. In *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (The Substance of Christianity) Feuerbach proved that it was not God who created man, but man who had created God in his image and likeness, that there was nothing outside Nature and man. He rejected He-

gel's "absolute idea," which had allegedly preceded the existence of the world and was the foundation on which Nature and society developed. He held that it was not the spirit, not the idea, not thinking that gave birth to being, but, on the contrary, it was being that engendered thinking.

While highly appreciating the significance of Feuerbach's philosophy, Marx and Engels were able to regard his views critically and see the limitations of his materialism, its passive, contemplative character. Feuerbach did not apply his materialism to social phenomena, remaining an idealist in his understanding of the historical process. Marx and Engels went farther than Feuerbach, coming to the conclusion that the materialist viewpoint had to be applied consistently also when explaining social phenomena and studying the history of human society. As distinct from Feuerbach, who simply rejected Hegel's idealistic dialectics, Marx and Engels remade it critically. Hegel's idealistic dialectics "stood on its head," because Hegel regarded everything taking place in Nature and in history as the result of the development of ideas and concepts. The task was to lay the foundations of new, materialist dialectics and integrate materialism and dialectics into a harmonious teaching.

The foundations of a revolutionary materialist philosophy were laid by Marx and Engels in a joint work, which they started during their short meeting in Paris. Engels only wrote a few chapters; this great work was accomplished mostly by Marx. Published under the title *The Holy Family or Critique of "Critical Critique"*, it attacked the Young Hegelians and the entire range of the "withered and widowed" Hegelian philo-

sophy. In *The Holy Family* Marx and Engels set themselves the task of squaring accounts with that segment of the German intelligentsia who were seeking to retire from politics and shut themselves up in the sphere of "pure philosophy" and who, like Bruno Bauer, laid claim to the role of misunderstood "philosophical leaders" and contemptuously decried the "uninitiated", "hidebound" mass, or "mob". These quasi-anarchist philosophers spread their contempt of the "mob" to the proletariat. Having come to the conclusion that the proletariat was the class with the historic mission of putting an end to all exploitation and oppression, Marx and Engels found it necessary to dissociate themselves entirely from Bruno Bauer and philosophers like him.

In *The Holy Family*, rejecting the idealistic views of Bruno Bauer and company, who held that history was made solely by chosen personalities, Marx and Engels put forward one of the basic propositions of historical materialism, namely, that the real makers of history were not "heroes" but the masses. They proved that as time went by increasingly broader masses of the people would become active in promoting historical development. Underscoring the significance of this idea, Lenin characterised it as one of the "profoundest and most important propositions" of historical materialism. *The Holy Family* contains an almost completely rounded off view of the proletariat's historical mission of liberation. In contrast to the Utopian Socialists, who regarded the proletariat only as a helpless and suffering mass, Marx and Engels proved that the working class was called upon to remake the world

by revolution if only due to its position in capitalist society.

The teaching on the historic role of the proletariat was the granite foundation on which the well-proportioned edifice of scientific communism was erected. "The chief thing in the doctrine of Marx," Lenin wrote, "is that it brings out the historic role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society." [1] This proposition turned socialism from a Utopia into a science, putting it on a realistic foundation and linking it up with the destiny of the young and growing revolutionary class.

Upon returning to Barmen Engels wrote to Marx, informing him that during the years of his absence much had changed in Wuppertal: industry had made enormous headway and opposition sentiments were spreading to more and more sections of the population. "In short, splendid soil is gathering here for our principles, and if we manage to draw our wild and fiery dyers and bleachers into the movement, our Wuppertal may still surprise you." [2]

The changes Engels noted in Wuppertal had taken place in other parts of the country as well. As in England, class contradictions were growing increasingly acute in Germany. There was an uprising of weavers in Silesia in June 1844. This awakening of the proletariat and its first class battles with the bourgeoisie made a tremendous impression in the country and gave impetus to the spreading of communist views.

In Barmen Engels finished his work on *The*

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 582.
[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 21, p. 2.

Conditions of the Working Class in England and, at the same time, engaged in practical revolutionary activity. He visited a number of towns with the purpose of contacting the local Socialists. He spoke at meetings which he arranged jointly with some Socialists and Democrats. In these speeches he pointed out that under capitalism a process was taking place in which a small minority was growing richer while the vast majority was becoming poorer, that the existing social relations would inevitably bring about a social revolution, which would give rise to a society in which common interests would be the basic principle. Wars of aggrandizement would be alien to such a society. In the event of a defensive war, every member of this society would "defend his *real* homeland, his *real* hearth" and, consequently he "would fight with inspiration, staunchness and courage before which the mechanically trained modern army would scatter like straw." [1]

Engels wrote Marx enthusiastic letters about these meetings, rejoicing in the successes of communist propaganda and also in the possibility of "addressing living, real people" and speaking to them directly, physically, openly "instead of engaging in accursed abstract writing."

But Engels' joy over the success of communist propaganda and over his direct contact with the masses was clouded by his strained relations with his family on account of his communist activities and his refusal to occupy himself with "confounded shopkeeping."

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 2, p. 539.

In the spring of 1845, finding it no longer bearable to live in his father's house, Engels went to Brussels, where Marx was then living, having been expelled from Paris on the insistence of the Prussian government.

Recalling his meeting with Marx in Brussels, Engels subsequently wrote: "When, in the spring of 1845, we met again in Brussels, Marx had already fully developed his materialist theory of history in its main features... and we now applied ourselves to the detailed elaboration of the newly-won mode of outlook in the most varied directions." [1]

Marx and Engels set down their new views in a major work, which they called *The German Ideology*. But they were not destined to see its publication: no publisher would handle it. [2]

In this work they showed the untenability of the views of the Young Hegelians (Bauer, Stirner) and criticised Hegel's philosophy and idealist philosophy generally. While paying tribute to Feuerbach, they indicated the shortcomings of his metaphysical, narrow, passive and contemplative materialism. They devoted a great deal of space to an exposure of petty-bourgeois "true socialism," whose spokesmen (Karl Grün and others) came out against "crudely destructive communism" and the class struggle, and instead of siding with the really historical working-class movement preached love, fraternity, justice and so forth. This sentimental philistine preaching

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 344.

[2] The first unabridged German edition of *The German Ideology* was published in 1932 in the USSR, and a Russian translation was brought out in 1933.

was dangerous because it prevented the proletariat from seeing that the contradictions between it and the bourgeoisie were irreconcilable. The "true Socialists" were opposed also to participation in the struggle for democracy; this was particularly injurious in pre-revolution Germany, where a struggle was being launched against the monarchy and feudal relations.

The basic propositions of historical materialism are outlined in *The German Ideology*. Marx showed that the historical process is founded on the conditions of society's material life, on the mode of producing material values. Consequently, the underlying causes of historical change are to be found not in abstract ideas, theories or political views but in the conditions of social life, which are reflected in these ideas, theories and political views.

The German Ideology was the first work to propound the idea that the change from one socio-economic system to another is an objective, law-governed historical process. With the growth of the productive forces one social system gives way to another, for instance, feudalism is superseded by capitalism. This transition is not accomplished automatically, without the participation of people. Irreconcilable inner contradictions inherent in every class society find expression in the class struggle, which leads to revolution and the replacement of one social system by another. As distinct from views ascribing the creative role in history solely to outstanding personalities, Marx and Engels proved that it is the masses who are the real makers of history, and that the class struggle is the driving force of the historical process. They formulated a series

of fundamental principles of Marxist political economy. On the basis of their analysis of the laws of capitalist development, they proved that the downfall of capitalist society was inevitable and creatively substantiated the need for a socialist revolution. In order to destroy capitalist society, they wrote, the proletariat, as any other class striving for domination, has, first and foremost, to win political power. This proposition contains the embryo of the Marxist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat. *The German Ideology* gives some contours of the future communist society.

As distinct from the Utopian Socialists, for Marx and Engels communism was not a fantastic dream about a wonderful future, but a necessary, historically determined objective attainable by practical revolutionary means. In criticising the passive, contemplative materialism of Feuerbach, they forcefully underscored the inseparable unity between revolutionary theory and practice and the effectual, transformative role of advanced theory. This idea was clearly and tersely expressed by Marx's theses on Feuerbach written in 1845: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change it*." [1]

The German Ideology was an important stage in the moulding of the theoretical, philosophical principles of scientific communism—dialectical and historical materialism.

---

[1] F. Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of the Classical German Philosophy*, Moscow, 1964, p. 101.

* * *

Marx and Engels, unlike Feuerbach, underlined the active, revolutionary character of their teaching and did not confine themselves to a scientific substantiation of their views. They felt they had to integrate socialism with the revolutionary working-class movement.

The need for this had been pointed out by Engels in *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. This was also stressed by Marx in 1844 in his article *To a Criticism of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law. Introduction*. He wrote: "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism with weapons. Material force must be overpowered by material force. But theory also becomes a material force as soon as it is adopted by the masses.

"In the same way that in the proletariat philosophy finds its *material* weapon, the proletariat finds in philosophy its *spiritual* weapon." [1]

When Marx and Engels took the first steps towards setting up a proletarian party, they already had many contacts among intellectuals and also among the organised proletariat of various countries.

Different trends of Utopian socialism predominated in the socialist movement of those years. For instance, the German workers and artisans had a socialist movement which emerged as a branch of French Utopian communism. Left-wing elements withdrew from the Outlaws' League, organised in Paris in 1834 by German emigres, and formed the League of the Just composed

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 1, p. 428.

mainly of artisans. The League was closely associated with the Society of the Seasons, which was headed by the French revolutionary Louis Auguste Blanqui. After the abortive Blanquist uprising in 1839, several members of the League of the Just were arrested and expelled from France. Engels made the acquaintance of three of them—Karl Schapper, Heinrich Bauer and Joseph Moll—in London in 1843, and then re-established contact with them during a six weeks' trip he and Marx made in Britain in 1845. The leadership of the Society for the Enlightenment of German Workers, organised in London in 1840, passed to the hands of these members of the League of the Just. Moreover, several branches of the League of the Just were founded in London. Similar branches existed in Paris, in Switzerland and in Germany. After London had been made the centre of the movement, the League acquired international standing. In addition to Germans, there were Scandinavians, Dutchmen, Hungarians, Czechs and others among its members.

In the League of the Just immense influence was enjoyed by the communist ideas of Wilhelm Weitling, who was a tailor by profession. As distinct from the peaceful Utopian Socialism of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen, Weitling called for a violent struggle, for a social revolution. Nonetheless, his was a Utopian communism because he did not have a correct understanding of the future society, of the ways of transition to it or of the social force that could accomplish that transition. Despite the Utopian nature of Weitling's communism and its Christian clothing, it played a large role in the history of the German

working-class movement as the first independent theoretical movement of the German proletariat.

In Brussels Marx, Engels and their friends and supporters set about establishing an organising centre which would enter into contact with the communist organisations of the German workers in Germany, Britain, France and Switzerland and also with the revolutionary working-class movement in other countries.

The Brussels Communist Correspondence Committee set up by Marx and Engels began a correspondence with representatives of the socialist and working-class movement in various countries.

By mid-1846 the committee was in contact with the London League of the Just and the Society for the Enlightenment of German Workers, with the English Chartists, the German League of the Just branches in Paris and individual communist groups in Germany (Wuppertal, Cologne, Silesia, North Germany and elsewhere).

Already then the question of convening an international communist congress was on the agenda. Marx and Engels saw that immense preparatory work had to be accomplished in order to convene such a congress: not only had the scattered communist groups of German workers to be united and closer contact established with organisations of the English and French proletariat, but fundamental clarity had to be secured in the communist movement.

The new revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels took shape and forced its way to the

working-class masses in struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies.

The petty-bourgeois influence was still very strong in various organisations of the League, particularly in Paris. In this connection, in August 1846 the Brussels Committee found it necessary to send Engels to Paris. Upon arriving in Paris Engels contacted the League of the Just branches and found that "infinite confusion reigned" in them.

At one of the meetings Engels suggested putting to the vote the question whether the meeting was communist, and defined the aims of the Communists as follows: 1) to uphold the interests of the proletarians against the interests of the bourgeoisie; 2) to achieve this by abolishing private ownership and replacing it with common ownership; 3) to recognise no other means of attaining these goals save by a violent democratic revolution.

After a stormy debate the great majority voted in favour of Engels' formulation, thereby proclaiming themselves communists and emphatically dissociating themselves from Proudhonism and "true Socialism."

A natural outcome of this struggle of the founders of Marxism for a proletarian party was that early in 1847 Joseph Moll, representative of the London Committee of the League of the Just first went to see Marx in Brussels and then Engels in Paris and officially invited them to join the League. Moll declared that he and his comrades believed that the views of Marx and Engels were correct and requested them to put them down in the form of a manifesto, which would be discussed as the official programme at a con-

gress of the League in London. Furthermore, he requested their assistance in setting up a new organisation of the League to replace its obsolete forms. Marx and Engels agreed.

A congress of the League was held in London early in June 1847. At the congress the League of the Just was renamed the Communist League and was reorganised on the basis of new Rules, the first paragraph of which, written by Engels, stated: "The aim of the League is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the rule of the proletariat, the abolition of the old, bourgeois society based on class antagonisms and the foundation of a new society without classes and without private property." [1]

The League's old slogan—"All men are brothers"—was replaced with a new slogan, proclaimed by Marx and Engels: "Workers of all countries, unite!"

The Rules adopted by the congress were sent for discussion to the different branches to be finally approved at the second congress of the Communist League along with the new communist programme.

A Communist League branch was organised in Brussels after the congress; Marx was the chairman of this branch and also of the district committee. Moreover, in Brussels Marx and Engels organised the German Workers' Society, which was directed by the Brussels branch of the Communist League. By this time they were given charge of the *Deutsche Brusseler Zeitung*, through which they could propagate their views.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 348.

In their articles in this newspaper they showed that the revolution was approaching in a number of European countries and mapped out the strategy and tactics to be adopted by the proletariat in that revolution. They opposed the flirtation of feudal, reactionary parties with the proletariat and also the attempts of the bourgeoisie to turn the proletariat into an obedient weapon against the autocratic monarchy. Calling upon the workers to take a most active part in the coming revolutionary battles, they stressed that the bourgeois revolution was not the end goal of the proletarian struggle and that after victory in that revolution the working class had to start a struggle for a socialist revolution.

Engels made another trip to Paris in mid-October 1847. Extensive work had to be done to prepare for the second congress of the Communist League, which would debate the programme.

Around the 20th of November Engels informed Marx that he had made a rough draft of this programme and suggested calling it the Communist Manifesto. "Think over the Confession of Faith a bit," he wrote to Marx. "I believe we had better drop the catechism form and call the thing: *Communist Manifesto.* As more or less history has got to be related in it, the form it has been in hitherto is quite unsuitable. I am bringing what I have done here with me; it is in simple narrative form, but miserably worded, in fearful haste. I begin: What is Communism? And then straight to the proletariat—history of its origin, difference from former labourers, development of the antithesis between proletariat and bourgeoisie, crises, conclusions. In between this all sorts of secondary matters and in con-

clusion the Party policy of the Communists, in so far as it should be made public." [1]

Engels thus wrote the first draft of the *Communist Manifesto*, which is known as the *Principles of Communism*.

The second congress of the Communist League was held in London in November-December 1847. Engels attended it as the representative of the Paris branches, and Marx as the representative of the Brussels branch.

After long and heated debates, in which Marx and Engels upheld the new theory, the principles expounded by them were unanimously passed and they were entrusted with writing the Manifesto.

Marx and Engels used their stay in London to extend their contacts with Communist workers and also with democrats of different countries. They attended an international democratic meeting held to commemorate the anniversary of the Polish uprising of 1830. In their speeches at this meeting they charted the basic guidelines of the proletarian policy in the national question. Engels, for example, advanced a proposition that later became the guiding principle for the proletariat in the national question. "No nation can become free that continues to oppress other nations." [2]

Marx and Engels returned to Brussels towards the middle of December 1847. Soon afterwards Engels again went to Paris, while Marx worked

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965, p. 45.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, 2nd Russ. Ed., Vol. 4, p. 372.

on the final wording of the programme of the Communist League.

The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was published in London in February 1848. This first programme document of scientific communism subsequently became, as Engels wrote, the most widespread international work of socialist literature and the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries from Siberia to California.

It was the first document to give a brief and clear summary of scientific communism, the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

"With the clarity and brilliance of genius," Lenin wrote, "this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat— the creator of a new, communist society." [1]

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48.

Engels in Revolution (1848-1849)

The publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided with far-reaching revolutionary developments in Europe.

An uprising flared up in Sicily, Italy, in January 1848. On February 23-24, with the support of the petty bourgeoisie the Paris workers routed the troops of the "king of bankers" Louis Philippe in heroic fighting at the barricades and compelled the provisional government that was formed to proclaim the French Republic. At the close of February and early in March the revolutionary wave rolled across states in West and South Germany nearest to France (Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, Saxony). At the same time, a revolutionary national liberation movement commenced in Hungary, which was part of multinational Austria. On March 13 there was a revolutionary explosion in the Austrian capital, Vienna, and on March 18 in Berlin, capital of Prussia. Lastly, a new wave of the Chartist movement swept across Britain in March and April.

The overthrow of the absolute monarchies, the

abolition of feudal landownership, liberation from foreign oppression and the creation of united democratic national states were the historic tasks of that epoch. The founders of Marxism believed that provided the class struggle took a favourable turn the bourgeois revolution in a number of European countries could serve as the direct prologue to the proletarian revolution.

On the eve of the revolution in France, Engels, who had been expelled from Paris by the French government for revolutionary activity among the workers, went to Brussels. But his stay there proved to be very short. When the February revolution broke out in France he and Marx decided to move to Paris, to the centre of the revolutionary struggle. The Belgian government speeded up this intention. On March 3 Marx was ordered to leave the country within 24 hours. He at once left for Paris.

By the time Engels arrived in Paris Marx was in the midst of active revolutionary work. On the basis of the authorisation given him, he organised a new Central Committee of the Communist League.

One of the first problems that confronted the new CC was the destiny of the several thousand German workers and political emigres resident in Paris and eager to go home and join the revolutionary work. "At that time," Engels wrote, the craze for revolutionary legions prevailed in Paris. Spaniards, Italians, Belgians, Dutch, Poles and Germans flocked together in crowds to liberate their respective fatherlands." [1]

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 350.

Marx and Engels emphatically opposed this "toying with revolution." At the same time, they denounced the French government which was helping to form a "German legion" in order to send packing from Paris the revolutionary-minded German workers, rid itself of redundant workers in view of the growing unemployment, and betray the legion to the Prussian government on the frontier.

In their strategy and tactics in the German revolution Marx and Engels proceeded from the objective historical tasks which that revolution had to fulfil, and from the real alignment of class forces in Germany.

The main objective of the German revolution of 1848 was to put an end to the country's political dismemberment and economic backwardness. As it was mentioned, Germany consisted of 38 large, small and tiny states, each of which (with the exception of four free cities) had its own dynasty, court, army, system of weights and measures, and so forth.

Germany's unification could be achieved in two ways: either by revolution, as a result of which a united democratic German republic would be formed, or by counter-revolution through the unification of Germany round one of the strongest states—Prussia or Austria.

In this crucial period of Germany's history, when the destiny of its further development was being decided, Marx and Engels fought with the consistency of proletarian revolutionaries for the radical abolition of all medieval rubbish and for the creation of a united democratic Germany.

At the end of March they drew up a document of tremendous importance—*Demands of the*

Communist Party in Germany— in which they formulated the political platform of the proletariat in the German revolution. Heading these *Demands* was the basic slogan of the Communists in the German bourgeois revolution—the demand for a united, undivided German republic. The founders of Marxism regarded the creation of a united democratic republic as an indispensable condition facilitating the proletariat's further struggle for socialism. The other key demands were: the arming of the people, the abolition without compensation of all feudal services and payments burdening the peasants, the confiscation of the landed estates, the replacement of all private banks by a state bank, the transfer of the mines and all means of transport and communication into the hands of the state, the total separation of the church from the state, the introduction of a progressive tax and the establishment of national workshops.

Inasmuch as Marx and Engels regarded the German bourgeois revolution as the prologue to a proletarian revolution, among the above-mentioned demands they listed a series of transition measures that, as stated in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* "outlive themselves in the course of movement" and lead to an upheaval in the entire mode of production.

The Demands of the Communist Party in Germany, signed by members of the Central Committee of the Communist League, were printed as a separate leaflet and, together with the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* handed as political directives to German workers who were returning to Germany. At the same time, Marx and Engels instructed the members of the Com-

munist League on the creation of workers' organisations in Germany.

While engaged in this preparatory work, Marx and Engels were eager to go to Germany, which was enveloped in revolution, and early in April they left Paris, arriving in Cologne on the 11th of the same month.

This marked the beginning of their direct participation in the German revolution.

At the time of their arrival in Germany, the uprising of the workers and petty bourgeoisie in the towns and of the peasants in the countryside had dealt the first blows at the feudal-absolute order and compelled the government to make concessions. However, the fruits of the people's victory everywhere were plucked by the big bourgeoisie.

Power was seized by the liberal bourgeoisie, which quickly showed that it was an anti-revolutionary force and moved steadily towards the camp of the counter-revolution. Before settling accounts with its old adversaries—the absolute monarchy, the feudal landed aristocracy, and the bureaucracy—the liberal bourgeoisie saw a new enemy in the proletariat. Frightened not by what the German proletariat actually was but what it threatened to become and what the French proletariat already was, the bourgeois saw their salvation in a compromise with the monarchy and the nobility.

Due to the treacherous policy of the bourgeoisie, the revolution had not yet won a decisive victory anywhere. The real power—the Army, the police and the state apparatus—remained in the hands of the landowners and the monarchy. The decisive battles were still ahead.

Such was the situation in Germany when Marx and Engels arrived there.

Their choice of Cologne was not accidental. It was the principal city of the advanced industrial Rhine Province, where the bourgeoisie was extremely active politically and the masses had awakened to political life earlier than in other parts of Germany. It was one of the leading centres of the German working-class movement; lastly, it was where the Code Napoleon was in operation with the result that the atmosphere was more propitious there than anywhere else for putting into effect their plan of publishing a major revolutionary daily.

The setting up of a mass revolutionary organ was an indispensable prerequisite for the realisation of the strategic and tactical plan mapped out by Marx and Engels. The task was to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution and, at the same time, prepare the masses for the socialist revolution.

Marx and Engels had repeatedly stressed that the existence of an advanced proletarian party was a necessary condition for the fulfilment of this task, and they had set about organising such a party and rallying and educating its members long before the revolution: they continued this line after their arrival in Germany, taking steps to establish Communist League branches and working-class organisations. However they encountered enormous difficulties in their drive to found an all-German independent party of the proletariat. In those years most of the German proletariat were not industrial workers. They were artisans and were still weak, unorganised, politically undeveloped and full of petty-bour-

geois illusions and prejudices. In economically backward and politically dismembered Germany the conditions were as yet non-existent for the creation of a mass proletarian party. The two or three hundred members of the Communist League, scattered about the country, were hardly noticeable in the huge mass of people that had been suddenly galvanised into action.

Sectarianism was alien to Marx and Engels and they had to take the obtaining level of the German proletariat into consideration. Therefore, to avoid going too far and finding themselves in isolation from the masses, upon their arrival in Germany they decided to join the democratic movement and occupy a position on its Left, actually proletarian, wing. Under these conditions the newspaper being set up by them could only be the "banner... of democracy, but that of a democracy which everywhere emphasised in every point the specific proletarian character." [1]

In order to translate this line into practice Marx and Engels joined the Cologne Democratic Society and recommended these tactics to all its supporters. They began active preparations for the publication of a newspaper.

The first issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (with a subheading: *Organ of Democracy)* was brought out on June 1, 1848. The editorial staff were: Karl Marx (editor-in-chief), Heinrich Bürgers, Ernst Dronke, Frederick Engels, Georg Weerth, Friedrich Wolff and Wilhelm Wolff.

A salient feature of this newspaper was that it was the only organ which pursued a revolu-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 330.

tionary, proletarian line and gave the proletariat an unerring orientation in the ups and downs of the class struggle of 1848-1849. Another noteworthy feature was its amazing ability to forecast developments and to give its revolutionary passion the shape of articles written with fiery eloquence, incomparable literary skill, brilliance and wit.

Initially, as editor, Marx wrote relatively little, being occupied with general political leadership; he bore most of the burden of the organisational work. Most of the leading political articles in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* were written by Engels, whose quick and fluent writing made him indispensable to the newspaper. As in other fields, Marx and Engels supplemented each other magnificently.

Engels devoted himself to work in the newspaper with immense pleasure and all his ardour as a revolutionary. "It was a revolutionary time," he later recalled, "and to work in a daily newspaper was a delight. You saw for yourself the impact of every word: you saw your articles virtually strike as hand-grenades, and the explosion of the shells you have fired." [1]

The immediate and primary task of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was to wage an uncompromising struggle against the widespread illusions that the revolution had ended with the March battles and that it now remained to reap its fruit. Lashing out at these illusions, Engels wrote ironically: "Such, good German, is your lot once again!... Do you imagine you have put an end

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, p. 68.

to the police state? You're only deluding yourself! Do you imagine you now have freedom of association, freedom of the press, the right of arming the people, and all other lofty words that had passed to you across the March barricades? This is a delusion, pure and simple!

"When sweet intoxication passed
"You woke up bewildered." [1]

To combat these illusions Marx and Engels exposed the treachery of the big bourgeoisie, which had not resolved a single task of the bourgeois revolution and in fear of the revolutionary people had concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with reaction.

They considered the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship of the people as the key condition of victory in the revolution. "Any temporary condition of the state created after the revolution demands a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that," it was stressed in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. [2]

Engels wrote a series of articles on the fundamental principles of the proletariat's national policy and on its concrete forms in the revolution of 1848-49. He analysed the character, class content and driving forces of the national struggle waged by numerous peoples—Hungarians, Italians and the different Slav peoples— oppressed by Germany.

With the ardour and passion of a revolutionary he exposed the treachery of the German bourgeoisie, which continued the former German policy of oppressing other peoples.

---

[1] K. Marx. F. Engels. *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 6, p. 127.
[2] Ibid., p. 444.

He emphasised that the emancipation of oppressed nationalities was absolutely necessary in the interests of the revolution, that this emancipation would strike a blow at the rule of the feudal landowners and absolute monarchy and that it would be a powerful means of drawing the oppressed nations into the common revolutionary struggle. He regarded the radical abolition of national oppression not only as a means of expiating Germany's guilt for her former policy of oppression but also as an indispensable condition for the future development of the German people as a free and democratic nation.

Marx and Engels regarded the national question as part and parcel of the general problem of promoting the revolution. Hence their distinctive assessment of the national movements of individual peoples. In the situation that obtained in 1848-49 they gave their wholehearted support to the national liberation movement of the Polish and Hungarian peoples. They welcomed the Prague uprising of the Czechs, who rose against Austrian oppression. However, their attitude to the national movement of the Czech and other Slav peoples in the Austrian empire changed when Russian tsarism and the Hapsburg monarchy began to set these peoples against the German democratic movement and use their national struggle to further their own reactionary aims. Correctly assessing the national movement of the Austrian Slavs at this stage as a factor undermining the revolutionary forces and strengthening the camp of the reactionary, Engels at the same time, put forward a number of erroneous propositions in articles headed "*Der magyarische Kampf* (The Hungarian Struggle) and *Der*

demokratische Panslawismus (Democratic Pan-Slavism) and later in the work *Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland* (Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany). For instance, he maintained that the Austrian Slavs had already played their historic role and lacked the requisites for independent national development. At the root of this erroneous argument, which history has debunked, was Engels' incorrect perception of the future of small nations. He believed that in the course of historical development these nations would gradually be absorbed and assimilated by bigger nations. He failed to take into account the fact that parallel to the trend towards centralisation and the creation of large states, developing capitalism was giving rise to another trend, namely, the awakening of national movements among small nations and their aspiration for freedom from national oppression and for the creation of independent national states. As the masses became drawn into the struggle and with the growth of their political awareness and organisation this national liberation movement acquired an increasingly democratic and progressive character and led not to the weakening but to the strengthening and expansion of the front of revolutionary struggle.

The arena of the political and organisational activity engaged in by Marx and Engels was the Cologne Democratic Society, which they had joined so that while pursuing their own, independent line they could criticise the Society's mistakes and illusions and win the support of the masses.

This criticism became increasingly more scathing as the counter-revolution began to go over

to the offensive and the moment of decisive battles drew ever nearer.

The major defeat of the Paris proletariat in June 1848 was the signal for the offensive of the counter-revolution throughout Europe. The bourgeoisie compelled the workers to stage an armed uprising, which was drowned in blood after four days of heroic fighting at the barricades.

Unrest became rife in the Rhine Province under the impact of the offensive launched by the counter-revolution. Engels started organising the masses for a struggle against the rampant counter-revolution. On September 13 he spoke at a rally organised in Cologne by *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. The rally unanimously seconded his motion to issue an address demanding that the Berlin National Assembly should organise armed resistance in reply to the government's preparations to disband it by force.

The Prussian government was deeply disturbed by the powerful upsurge of the mass movement in the Rhine Province, particularly in its principal city where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published and the Communist League headed by Marx and Engels had its headquarters. It moved large numbers of troops into the province and waited for a convenient pretext to provoke the masses and start a slaughter. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* earnestly warned the people against starting an inopportune and unprepared uprising. To provoke action by the people two leaders of the Cologne working-class movement—Schapper and Becker—were arrested on September 25. The threat of arrest hung over Joseph Moll, who was one of the most popular leaders of the Workers' Union. The workers were determined to prevent

his arrest, and hearing that Prussian troops were approaching began to build barricades. Marx, Engels and their supporters barely managed to keep the people from taking inopportune action. "To rise in rebellion at a moment like this," *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote, "when no major issue is pushing the whole people towards struggle and when any uprising must, therefore, end in defeat would be all the more rash in view of the fact that important developments might take place within the next few days and there was therefore the risk of losing the fighting capacity precisely on the *eve* of the decisive day." [1]

On September 26, following the failure of their provocation, the authorities proclaimed a state of siege in Cologne, disarmed the civilian militia and closed workers' and democratic organisations and newspapers. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was, of course, also banned. Moreover, warrants were issued for the arrest of some of the newspaper's editors, Engels among them, who had been particularly active as organisers and leaders of the mass September movement in the Rhine Province.

Engels hastily left Cologne to avoid falling in the hands of the Prussian military and finding himself in prison at a revolutionary time. In Barmen he saw his mother and father, and there was an angry scene; his father was furious over his revolutionary activities. Engels went to Brussels, Belgium, but was arrested and put in prison as soon as the police learned of his arrival. Within a few hours he was sent to the French fron-

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 6, p. 469.

tier as a "vagrant." From the frontier he went to Paris.

Paris, city of a triumphant counter-revolution, made a bitter impression on him.

Comparing the Paris after February 1848 with the Paris of October 1848, he wrote in his travel notes *From Paris to Bern:* "Between the Paris of those days and today there were May 15, June 25 and the most fierce struggle the world has ever seen, there was a sea of blood, there were fifteen thousand corpses. The hand-grenades of Cavaignac blew up the insuperable gaiety of the Parisians. The notes of the *Marseillaise* have fallen silent... The workers, without a crust of bread and without arms, ground their teeth in smouldering anger... But Paris was dead—it was not the same Paris any more...

"I could not endure being in this dead Paris for long. I had to go—it did not matter where. First I went to Switzerland. I had little money—consequently, I had to go on foot...

"One fine morning I set out, at random, going directly southwards." [1]

It took Engels two weeks to tramp from Paris to Switzerland across Southern France. He stayed in Geneva, then in Lausanne, and after receiving a remittance from Marx went to Bern, where he settled down temporarily.

This forced stay in provincial, philistine Switzerland, that was remote from the revolutionary storms, went against Engels' fighting nature, against his burning desire to take a direct part in

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 6, pp. 522-23.

the revolutionary struggle. However, Marx insisted that he stay away from Germany.

As a matter of fact, his stay abroad was not as "idle" as it seemed to him in his eagerness to be in the centre of the struggle. He took part in the Swiss working-class movement. In December 1848 he attended a workers' congress in Bern as a delegate from the Lausanne Workers' Union, which gave him a mandate as "a veteran fighter for the cause of the proletariat." In Bern he wrote several articles for *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*. One was *Der magyarische Kampf*, in which he enthusiastically acclaimed the methods adopted by the insurgent Hungarians in their struggle against the counter-revolution.

At last, in mid-January 1849, it became possible for Engels to return to Germany.

When he arrived in Cologne the revolution was experiencing a difficult time. The counter-revolution was advancing all along the line.

On February 7 he and Marx were brought to trial on a charge of defiance of the authorities. At the trial the accused became the accusors. The jury did not dare to sentence them. They were acquitted.

In the spring of 1849 tension reached a new high in Germany: the counter-revolution was mustering forces to deal the final blow. The decisive battle between the two camps—revolution and counter-revolution—was drawing near.

All intermediate, wavering and irresolute elements who sought to reconcile the irreconcilable, avoid the decisive battle and demobilise the masses were now becoming particularly dangerous. The leadership of the coming battles was in danger of falling into the hands precisely of these

elements, who represented the numerous German petty-bourgeoisie. For that reason, from the very first issue of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx and Engels had tirelessly exposed the wavering, cowardice and illusions of the leaders of petty-bourgeois democracy. They now sharpened their criticism in an effort to free the masses from the influence of these leaders.

In mid-April 1849 Marx, Engels and their supporters made a clean break with petty-bourgeois democracy. The Cologne Workers' Union led by them cut its association with the Democratic Society. The political experience acquired by the worker masses and the disappointment of the advanced workers with petty-bourgeois democracy now made it possible to raise the question of founding a proletarian party. Marx and Engels redoubled their efforts to unite the proletariat. They strove to turn the Cologne Workers' Union into a centre uniting all the workers' organisations in the Rhine Province and Westphalia and then start the formation of an all-German association of workers' organisations. They established closer contact with the Communist League members scattered about the whole of Germany, sending them instructions and getting them to concentrate on setting up workers' organisations in their localities.

With the decisive battles drawing ever nearer, the tone in *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* became more sharp and impassioned. Formally an organ of democracy, the newspaper manifested its true, proletarian character more and more openly. Every regular and special issue bore the stamp of the impending battle. This was particularly true of the April and May special issues, which

were a call to the people to prepare for the decisive assault.

Uprisings headed by the petty-bourgeoisie broke out early in May in West and South Germany—Saxony, the Rhine Province, Westphalia, Pfalz and Baden.

Marx and Engels sought to assist the insurgent masses, give the movement a conscious objective and help to organise the struggle.

Engels drew up a plan for an armed struggle. This was the first concrete model of a Marxist, scientific approach to an uprising.

Engels determined the only expedient direction of the main assault—from insurgent Baden up north, to Frankfurt, whose seizure would have been of tremendous moral and political importance, and would have given the uprising an all-German character (the German National Assembly was in Frankfurt). Moreover, the capture of Frankfurt would have been of great strategic significance, for it would have given the insurgents control of the line running along the River Main and created a bridgehead for a further offensive of the revolutionary forces towards the insurgent regions of the Rhineland in the northwest.

Engels considered that the inner strengthening and organisation of the forces of the uprising was a necessary condition for the victorious outcome of the military operations. "It was necessary to centralise the forces of the uprising, to place the needed funds at their disposal, and by the immediate abolition of all feudal duties to interest the numerous rural majority of the population in the movement. The institution of a general central authority for military affairs and

finance, with the right to issue banknotes, first for Baden and Pfalz, and the abolition of all feudal duties in Baden and all other regions occupied by the revolutionary army would suffice to make the movement much more energetic. "*But all this had to be done from the very outset, when speed alone could ensure success.*"[1]

This stake on the maximum unfolding of the people's revolutionary energy, on firm centralised leadership of the uprising and on swift and decisive action was the salient feature of Engels' plan for the armed uprising.

The second major region of the uprising, which held Engels' attention, was the Rhine Province with its great numbers of industrial workers. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the militant headquarters of the revolutionary proletariat, was in that region. However, Engels soberly assessed the political and military-strategic situation and felt that only extremely favourable conditions could make the province a powerful factor of the uprising. The trouble was that this region was girdled by seven fortresses manned by nearly two-thirds of the Prussian Army, had railways running in all directions, and so on. This situation called for energetic revolutionary action *from without*, namely, active assistance from other insurgent regions in order to breach the military force concentrated by the counter-revolution on the Rhine, disorganise the military command and foster revolutionary feeling among the troops. Engels linked his plan for the uprising with the general prospects of the revolutionary struggle in

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 7, p. 424. Author's italics.

Europe—with the new upswing of the revolution in France and Italy and with the revolutionary wave sweeping Hungary.

An armed uprising broke out in the Mark-Berg industrial area on May 9-10. It enveloped centres such as Elberfeld, Söllingen, Hagen and Iserlohn.

As soon as Engels received news of the uprising he drew up a plan to help the insurgents in the right-bank districts. He set down the substance of this plan as follows:

"All unnecessary flares-up had to be avoided in the fortresses and garrison towns;

"a diversion had to be organised on the left bank of the Rhine in the small towns, fortresses, factory townships and rural localities in order to pin down the Rhine garrisons;

"lastly, all free forces had to be moved into the insurgent district on the right bank of the Rhine, the uprising extended and an effort made... to organise there the nucleus of the revolutionary army." [1]

After informing his friends and associates of this plan Engels changed his pen for a rifle and on May 10 set out for his native Wuppertal, with Elberfeld as his destination.

In Elberfeld he found confusion and disorder. The petty-bourgeois Security Committee, which was directing the movement, was unable to take the necessary energetic measures.

The very fact that Engels, one of the leaders of the "Red party" and an editor of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which filled the bourgeoisie and cowardly philistines with fear, had arrived in the

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 7, p. 414.

town frightened the Elberfeld bourgeoisie. Engels' energetic actions and his plans and demands infuriated them. They tried to set the philistine section of the population against him by claiming that he was seeking to start a "reign of terror" and by spreading all sorts of rumours and slander. Pressured by the bourgeoisie the Security Committee decided to arrest Engels, but fearing the armed workers it limited itself to expelling him from the town.

Engels went back to Cologne. In *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* a report appeared about the developments in Elberfeld. It ended with the following words addressed to the workers:

"Let the Berg and Mark workers, who showed one of our editors such great favour and affection, remember that the present movement is only a prologue to another, a thousand times more important, movement, in which their own, workers' interests will be at stake. This new revolutionary movement will be the result of the present movement. As soon as this new movement begins, Engels—the workers may be sure of it—like all the other editors of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, will be at his post and no force on earth will compel him to quit that post." [1]

In a situation distinguished by a rapid growth of the mass movement the counter-revolution, though armed to the teeth, did not venture to touch *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, whose courageous voice was heard throughout Germany.

But the defeat of the uprising on the Rhine dealt a mortal blow to *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* as well. Some of the editors were put on trial,

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 7, p. 386.

while others, as non-Prussians, were ordered to leave Prussia. Taking advantage of the fact that Marx had relinquished his Prussian citizenship in 1845, the government ordered his expulsion from Prussia as a "foreigner", who had abused the "right of hospitality." All this signified the end of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

Its last issue, printed in red ink, was brought out on May 19, 1849.

Thirty-five years later, recalling the end of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels could legitimately say: "We had to surrender our fortress, but we withdrew with our arms and baggage, with band playing and flag flying, the flag of the last issue." [1]

After the closure of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* Marx and Engels went to Southwest Germany, which was in the grip of an uprising. They did their utmost to extend and deepen the uprising, to induce the petty-bourgeois democrats to pursue an energetic revolutionary line. In Mannheim (Baden) they met with leaders of the Baden movement whom they tried to persuade to carry out Engels' plan for the uprising. But lacking courage, energy, intelligence and initiative, the Baden leaders remained deaf to their advice.

From Baden Marx and Engels went to the second centre of the uprising, Pfalz, where they met with members of the Pfalz provisional government. On their way back they were arrested by Hessian soldiers, charged with participation in the uprising and sent to Frankfurt, where, however, they were released.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 336.

Feeling that in the obtaining situation it was impossible to win anything substantial in Germany and expecting important revolutionary developments in France, Marx went to Paris with a mandate from the Central Democratic Committee. Engels, for his part, went back to Kaiserslautern (Pfalz) with the intention of occupying the only place that *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* could occupy in that movement, namely, the place of soldier.

He emphatically declined numerous offers to take over various civilian and military posts. He had no desire to take the responsibility for the endless mistakes and blunders of the petty-bourgeoisie, whose policies, as experience had shown, it was impossible to rectify. However, his militant revolutionary temperament did not permit him to remain idle. At the time a detachment of volunteers led by August Willich, a Communist, was successfully laying siege to the Prussian fortress of Landau. Had Willich artillery the fortress would most certainly have fallen. Day after day at the General Staff in Kaiserslautern Engels insisted that Willich be sent howitzers, but nothing came of it. This and other activity by Engels and his constant open and sharp criticisms of the irresolute and unsuccessful actions of the local authorities finally led to his arrest in an outlying town in Pfalz. From there, handcuffed, he was led on foot to Kaiserslautern, where he was put in prison. His arrest shocked advanced members of the Pfalz movement, particularly the Rhineland workers in the Rhine-Hesse volunteer detachment. They stated categorically that they would leave the detachment if Engels was not released. After 24 hours in prison Engels was

freed with profuse apologies from the provisional government.

Soon after this, news arrived of an offensive by counter-revolutionary Prussian troops. Engels joined Willich's detachment as a volunteer.

He honourably discharged his duty as a soldier in the army of the uprising. On June 13 he arrived in Offenbach, where Willich had his headquarters, and became his aide-de-camp. Until the middle of July, when the Pfalz-Baden army was interned in Switzerland, Engels took part in the campaigns and battles of Willich's volunteer detachment. This was the finest detachment of the insurgents. In it were many workers who showed they were splendid, disciplined soldiers. The detachment had the difficult and dangerous assignment of covering the withdrawal of the Baden army and holding up the advancing Prussians.

Engels displayed the qualities of a brilliant organiser who was not daunted by any work or danger. The poorly supplied and poorly armed units were short of even bare necessities, and Engels did all that was humanly possible to obtain gunpower, lead, cartidges, arms, clothes and food for them. Moreover, he helped to train the men. During armed clashes he was invariably in the thick of the fighting: he fought in four battles, among them the battle at Rastatt. Eleanor Marx wrote: "...a long time afterwards all who saw him in battle still spoke of his extraordinary coolness and absolute scorn of danger." [1]

On July 12, Willich's detachment with Engels in it crossed into Swiss territory, which had been

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 185.

reached on the previous day by the main body of troops. This detachment of the defeated Baden-Pfalz army was the last to leave German territory.

The uprising in South and West Germany was thus completely crushed by mid-July 1849.

The suppression of this uprising was the final defeat of the German revolution of 1848-49.

This defeat was due to the treachery of the German big bourgeoisie, the vacillation and irresolution of the petty bourgeoisie, and also the weakness and a lack of organisation on the part of the German proletariat because of Germany's economic backwardness and political dismemberment.

Parties, classes and various theories and political programmes were tested in the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-49. The revolution dealt a moral blow at all varieties of Utopian Socialism and, at the same time, demonstrated the superiority of the proletariat's scientific theory, which brilliantly passed its first historical test. "The new theory," Lenin wrote, "was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848-1849, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world." [1]

Prior to 1848 Marx and Engels gave most of their attention to evolving the philosophical foundations of scientific communism, but during the revolutionary battles of 1848-49 political ideas and questions of strategy and tactics moved to the forefront.

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 48.

* *
*

Marx went to Paris in June and had no contact with Engels for more than two months.

In August 1849 Engels received a letter from Marx stating that he was being expelled to the Department of Morbihan, a swampy locality in Brittany. This, he wrote, was a veiled attempt to murder him, and he had decided to leave France and go to London, where he hoped to start a German magazine. The letter stated: "You must therefore set out at once for London. Your safety demands this. The Prussians would shoot you twice: 1) for Baden; 2) for Elberfeld. Switzerland is no place for you. What can you do there? You'll have no difficulty going to London, as Engels or under the name of Meyer... I *definitely* count on that... There'll be plenty to do in London." [1]

Engels eagerly accepted his friend's advice. He went to Genoa, Italy, took a passage in a sailboat on October 6 and arrived in London in mid-November. His dynamic nature and insatiable thirst for knowledge did not allow him to remain idle even during the voyage: he studied navigation. The diary which he kept during the voyage contains notes on the changes in the position of the sun, the direction of the wind, the state of the sea, the contours of the shore, and so on.

In London Engels resumed his revolutionary activity in collaboration with Marx. The situation was extremely tense. Reaction was triump-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 21, p. 114.

hant everywhere. Small wonder that the most unsteady section of the political emigres gave way to despondency, confusion and ebbing faith in their cause. But even in this situation Marx and Engels proved equal to their position as leaders of the revolutionary proletariat. Their great self-control, firmness and unconquerable optimism, which rested on profound, scientifically substantiated confidence that their cause was just, now manifested themselves with redoubled force.

Marx and Engels set about restoring and reorganising the Communist League. The League members who had been active in the movement were now scattered, contact with them had been lost and due to the stringent censorship it was not possible for some time to correspond with them.

However thanks to Marx's energy, the League's Central Committee was reorganised as early as September 1849. Engels was coopted into the CC as soon as he arrived in London.

An independent proletarian party could not be formed without neutralising the influence of the petty-bourgeois emigres, a large number of whom were residing in London. They started a fight against Marx and Engels and sought to unite the revolutionary emigres organisationally under their own leadership. Engels joined Marx in the struggle against these attempts of the petty-bourgeois democrats. They pressed for the formation of an independent organisation of proletarian revolutionaries.

In this period much of their time was given to organising material assistance to emigres. This was also used as a means of promoting the in-

fluence of the proletarian party, but even here they had to fight the attempts of the petty-bourgeois democrats to take the direction of material assistance into their own hands.

In March 1850, in order to establish contact with Germany, the League's Central Committee dispatched a special emissary, Heinrich Bauer, to that country. The *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League,* written by Marx and Engels, was sent with Bauer. In this document Marx and Engels summed up the results of the revolution of 1848-49 in Germany, specified the guideline of the Communists in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and formulated in detail their idea of a permanent revolution.

This idea was enlarged on in Lenin's theory of the development of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution and in the Bolshevik Party's strategy and tactics, which so splendidly justified themselves in the revolutionary battles of 1917.

The enormous work that Marx and Engels put into the restoration and reorganisation of the Communist League quickly yielded results. In the second *Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League,* written in June 1850, they were able, on behalf of the CC, to report major successes. While working to set up a mass proletarian party in Germany, they rallied round themselves the finest revolutionary elements of the international working-class movement. In this second *Address* it was stated that through several of its members, specially assigned for this purpose, the Central Committee was now linked with a genuinely revolutionary party composed of Frenchmen, Englishmen and Hungarians.

Engels was most closely associated with this work of uniting proletarian revolutionaries on an international level and spoke at many international meetings in London.

Marx and Engels attached the utmost importance to putting out a new periodical, to whose publication they devoted much of their time and energy. Six issues of the journal *Neue Rheinische Zeitung—A Political and Economic Review* were brought out in 1850. The journal was printed in Hamburg under the editorship of Marx. He and Engels contributed a series of articles on the results of the revolutions of 1848-49 in France and in Germany, as well as comments and surveys of the international sutiation.

The international surveys printed in the February and April issues of the journal showed that Marx and Engels were hoping for a new revolutionary upsurge. But in the summer of 1850 it became obvious to them that the objective situation had changed radically and that the hopes for an early upswing of the revolution were not realistic. The 1847 industrial crisis which had prepared the revolution of 1848 had worn itself out completely, and a period of rapid industrial development had set in. Marx and Engels clearly and unequivocally pointed this out in the *International Review* which they wrote for issues No. 5 and 6 of the journal in the autumn of 1850.

"There can be no question of a real revolution in the period of a general industrial boom," they wrote in this review, "when the productive forces of bourgeois society develop with all the speed that is generally possible under bourgeois relations. . . *A new revolution can only follow a new*

crisis. But it will ensue just as inevitably as the latter." [1]

This new standpoint adopted by Marx and Engels sharply aggravated the struggle in the Communist League and its Central Committee. Some of the CC members headed by Willich and Schapper and supported by a considerable number of the League's members in London opposed Marx and Engels.

A split took place at a meeting of the CC on September 15 after stormy debates, in which Marx utterly defeated the opposition. The majority in the CC led by Marx and Engels decided to move the Communist League Central Committee to Cologne.

After the revolutions of 1848-49 Marx and Engels felt that one of the cardinal tasks of their theoretical work was to analyse the lessons of these revolutions and sum up the new experience of the revolutionary struggle. This task was accomplished by Marx in *The Class Struggle in France, 1848 to 1850* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, and by Engels in *The Peasant War in Germany* and *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany*.

These works vividly demonstrated that as a living, creative teaching Marxism took shape and developed in unbreakable contact with revolutionary practice. By summing up the experience of the struggle of the proletariat and other working people in a turbulent revolutionary epoch, when the activity, initiative and creative role of the masses in the historical process were strikingly demonstrated, Marx and Engels enriched their

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 8, p. 239.

teaching with new and extremely important conclusions.

In *The Class Struggle in France* (1850) Marx stigmatised petty-bourgeois Utopian Socialism, which had shown its helplessness during the revolution, and counterposed to it revolutionary socialism and communism, which stood for "the *declaration of the permanence of the revolution*, the *class dictatorship* of the proletariat as the necessary transit point to the *abolition of class distinctions generally*, to the abolition of all the relations of production on which they rest, to the abolition of all the social relations that correspond to these relations of production, to the revolutionising of all the ideas that result from these social relations." [1]

The experience of the revolutions of 1848-49 enabled Marx and Engels to enlarge on and specify their teaching on the state. In *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852) Marx deals with the old state machine and draws a conclusion of truly epochal significance:

"All revolutions perfected this machine, instead of smashing it." [2]

In both *The Class Struggle in France* and *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* Marx deals at length with the relations between the proletariat and the peasants and analyses the reasons that prevented the proletariat from winning the peasant masses over to its side and led to the defeat of the revolution.

One can appreciate why Engels accorded con-

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 223.
[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 333.

siderable attention to the peasant question. In his outstanding work *The Peasant War in Germany* he based himself on a materialistic understanding of history in analysing the causes, course and results of the great anti-feudal peasant uprising in Germany in 1525. For Engels this work was a means of accentuating the role and importance of the peasants in the class struggle and underscoring the fact that the revolutionary proletariat had to win the leadership of the peasant masses. Drawing on historical facts of the class struggle of 1525 he explained the lessons of the revolutionary battles of 1848-49. The defeat of the peasant uprisings was due, he proved, to the treacherous role played by the burghers, the forerunners of the modern bourgeoisie, and also to political dismemberment, as a result of which instead of a national movement there were in Germany hundreds of local uprisings which were crushed piecemeal.

Engels summed up the results of the revolutionary battles of 1848-49 also in *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany* (1851-52). A skilled application of the method of historical materialism and profound knowledge and understanding of the events in which he had been directly involved enabled him, while the German revolution was still fresh in people's minds, to make a brilliant analysis of the preconditions, driving forces, main stages, international situation, results and lessons of the revolution.

The central place in this work is occupied by the question of armed uprising. The lessons which Engels drew from the experience of the armed struggle of 1848-49 and generalised in *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany* have be-

come part of the treasure-store of scientific proletarian strategy and tactics.

In this work he formulated the Marxist teaching that the armed struggle is an art, and clearly laid down the basic rules of revolution which the proletariat must observe in order to be victorious.

Along with their theoretical work, Marx and Engels continued to unite, educate and train proletarian revolutionaries.

The Communist League experienced a difficult time after the split of September 1850.

Eleven members of the Communist League were tried in Cologne in October and November 1852. Seven were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. To expose the foul methods by which the Prussian government trumped up charges against the Communists in Cologne, Marx wrote a pamphlet entitled *Enthüllungen über den Kommunisten-Prozess zu Köln* (Exposure of the Cologne Trial of Communists), while Engels wrote an article for the *New York Daily Tribune* under the heading *The Trial of Communists in Cologne.*

The arrest of Communists in Germany and the Cologne trial were the death blow to the Communist League. The contact of the London group, headed by Marx and Engels, with the continent was severed. In effect the League ceased to exist. In mid-November 1852, acting on Marx's recommendation, the League proclaimed its own dissolution.

Although in a situation marked by the reign of reaction and by government persecution the Communist League had ceased its existence, it left a deep imprint in the history of the working-

class movement as the embryo of a proletarian party and as the organisation whose programme was the immortal *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. After the League was dissolved the finest representatives of the proletariat reared by Marx and Engels continued their party work of disseminating revolutionary theory, educating the worker masses and preparing them for new revolutionary battles.

Engels in the Period of Reaction and a Fresh Upswing of the Bourgeois-Democratic Movement

With reaction gaining the upper hand, the conditions became extremely difficult for Marx's and Engels' theoretical and party-political activities. All the hardships of exile and material privation befell them. Bourgeois society now wreaked its vengeance on the leaders of the proletariat, depriving them of even elementary conditions of subsistence. While Engels could earn something by journalism, this was inconceivable for Marx, who was burdened with a family. The precarious living of a proletarian journalist, in view of the almost total absence of a working-class press, would not only have destroyed Marx's genius by depriving him of the possibility to carry on his theoretical and political work, but would have doomed him and his family to starve to death.

There was no sacrifice that Engels was not willing to make in order to save him from the class vengeance of bourgeois society, and pave the way for his genius so the proletariat would still have its leader.

In the circumstances the only way in which

Engels could help his friend was to return to office work, to "confounded commerce." Uncomplaining and unostentatiously, Engels took this step: there was no other solution. In the same simple way Marx accepted this proof of his friend's unbounded selflessness. Indeed, were they not continuing, shoulder to shoulder, the battle to which they had dedicated their lives? The new conditions only made them change the division of work between themselves. Engels, who had always acknowledged the superiority of his friend's genius and admired him, now felt it was quite natural to shoulder a considerable part of the burden of the material concerns of Marx and his family in order to enable him to continue his theoretical and political work.

In November 1850 Engels moved to Manchester, where he joined the office staff of the firm of Ermen & Engels.

His job compelled him to move in circles alien to him, observe external etiquette and thus lead a double life. It was only in the company of his wife—a simple Irish working-girl named Mary Burns, with whom Engels had fallen in love during his first stay in Manchester—and in the company of his friends that he rested from people alien to him. In Manchester Engels used to meet with Wilhelm Wolff, Samuel Moore and Karl Schorlemmer, his Communist friends, and with Left-wing leaders of the Chartist movement.

During this difficult period of his life his loyal and loving wife was a great support and comfort to him.

Mary's death of a heart disease on January 6, 1863, was a bitter loss to him. "After living so

long with a woman," he wrote to Marx, "her death cannot help but come as a shock. I felt that with her I buried the last particle of my youth."

Although for twenty years Marx and Engels lived in different cities, their unparalleled association grew ever stronger during these years. Marx could not visit Manchester often, and neither could Engels go to London whenever he liked. They made up for it by writing regularly to each other.

Because the founders of scientific communism lived in different cities for many years and letter-writing was their chief means of contact, we now have a voluminous correspondence, which may be described as a pearl of their entire literary heritage.

No sphere of science or politics was left unexplored in this correspondence. In the letters of these erudite men problems of philosophy, natural science, political economy, socialism, history, linguistics, mathematics, technology, military science and literature were discussed in such a way that sometimes a random phrase or a brief comment provided the key to a truly scientific, Marxist understanding of a whole range of most intricate issues. Not only science, but questions of the policy of the working class, of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle, and of the fight for a proletarian party are vividly mirrored in the correspondence between Marx and Engels. Lastly, the correspondence is a treasure-store for the study of the contemporary economy, foreign policy and working-class movement.

Another remarkable feature of this correspondence is that it is permeated with a militant and vivacious spirit.

No matter how they were persecuted by their enemies, no matter how they were slandered by the bourgeois press and no matter how hard-pressed they were in fight for existence they never lost their cheerfulness, humour, courage and adamantine will for struggle.

As long as Engels was a rank-and-file office worker of the firm and received a small wage the assistance he could give Marx was very inadequate. Need was virtually strangling Marx who had to deny himself and his family even bare necessities and wage endless war with his creditors. Need claimed one victim after another in the Marx family. The death of his son, Musch, a wonderful lad and the favourite of the family, was a particularly heavy blow to Marx. Together with Marx, Engels grieved over the child's illness and did all in his power to wrest him away from death. Informing Engels of the course of his son's illness, Marx wrote: "I don't know how to thank you for your friendship, for working instead of me, for your kindness to the boy."[1]

After his son's funeral, Marx wrote to Engels: "I have had many misfortunes, but only now do I know what real misfortune is...

"During all the torments of these days I was sustained by thoughts of you and your friendship and the hope that together we shall yet achieve something wise in this world."[2]

Engels suffered keenly because of his helplessness to deliver the Marx family from privation. Therefore, when the opportunity came his way of increasing his material assistance to Marx through

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 22, p. 92.
[2] Ibid., p. 94.

literary work, he gladly grasped at this opportunity. In August 1851 Marx received from the progressive American newspaper *New York Daily Tribune* an offer to act as contributor. He at once wrote to Engels for help: "As regards the *New York Daily Tribune* you must now help me because I am up to my neck in economics. Write a series of articles about Germany, beginning with 1848." [1] Engels wasted no time and began to supply Marx systematically with articles, which the latter forwarded to the *New York Daily Tribune*. Thus was born the famous series of articles *Revolution and Counter-revolution in Germany*. It was ascertained that these articles were written by Engels, not by Marx, only when their correspondence was published.

Besides writing for Marx a host of articles in the *New York Daily Tribune*, Engels helped his friend by making English translations of the articles written by Marx himself (in this period Marx's English was not yet fluent; he began writing in English only in 1853). Of the huge number of articles sent by Marx to the *New York Daily Tribune*, at least one in three were written by Engels. In this field, too, they divided their work: Engels wrote chiefly on military matters, and Marx on foreign policy.

However, despite the extensive literary work that Marx fulfilled for the *New York Daily Tribune* with Engels' help, the money he received was very small. The newspaper's editor-in-chief Charles Dana treated his correspondent as would any capitalist and took every opportunity to cut down his earnings. Finally, he cut them in half.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 21, p. 250.

As a result, Marx's financial position sharply deteriorated.

During this difficult period, the same Dana made Marx an offer to collaborate in the encyclopedia he was bringing out. Although most of this work was not particularly interesting, Engels readily agreed to participate, seeing that it would be a great help to Marx. Engels was busy in the office during the day, and had to work on the encyclopedia at night. Marx knew this, and time and again intended to send the whole business "to the devil." But he too had to write at night in order to continue his work on economics, which he now regarded as the main goal of his life.

Engels helped Marx not only in journalistic work. Marx turned to him for advice on the most diverse theoretical problems and invariably received comprehensive, carefully thought-out answers which sometimes required special preparation. Some of Engels' thoughts were used in their entirety in Marx's articles.

While Engels helped Marx in his theoretical work, the latter actively helped his friend by stating his opinion on the theoretical problems in which Engels was interested, frequently spending days on end in the British Museum to find the material Engels needed on problems of military science, history, literature, linguistics, and so forth.

During his residence in Manchester Engels spent much of his time studying military science. His interest in this science dated from the days of his military service in Berlin. The requirements of the revolutionary struggle of 1848-49 forced him to study military questions, parti-

cularly problems connected with an armed uprising. In Manchester he studied military science systematically and very thoroughly.

To a large extent this was due to his desire to help Marx in his work for the *New York Daily Tribune* and the *New American Cyclopaedia.* However, the main thing that induced him to make a thorough study of military science was his understanding of the colossal role that war and armed struggle would play in the coming revolution.

A huge number of Engels' works and articles was devoted to military questions. For example, in 1853-55 he wrote a large series of articles on the Crimean War (a war fought by France, Britain and Turkey against Russia). In 1855 he contributed several articles on European armies to the American press.

In 1857-58 he wrote articles on the Second Opium War in China (a war fought by Britain and France to enslave China), on the national liberation uprising against the British colonialists in India, and on the British invasion of Persia. With these articles Engels helped to elaborate the national and colonial questions, on which Marx was working during these years. The articles by Marx and Engels on India and China, printed in the 1850s in the *New York Daily Tribune*, and their assessments of the national question in Europe laid the foundation for the revolutionary proletarian policy in the national and colonial questions.

In the articles on events in China and India (as in most of his other articles on military questions) Engels went far beyond the framework of a purely military analysis. Although he tried to

adapt his articles to the requirements of the *New York Daily Tribune*, their entire character and tone showed that they were written not merely by a military specialist but by a proletarian revolutionary. For instance, in addition to a skilful analysis of military operations, Engels' articles on the national liberation uprising in India contained an indictment of British colonial policy.

In the article *Persia and China* (1857) he underscored the growth of the resistance of the Chinese masses to the foreign invasion and joyfully noted that the masses were taking an active and even fanatic part in the struggle against foreigners. He exposed the hypocritical howls of the British press about the "cruelties" of the Chinese: "Instead of preaching about the terrible cruelties of the Chinese, as the chivalrous British press is doing, it would have been better if we acknowledged that this is a war... for home and hearth..., that this is a people's war for the preservation of Chinese nationality." [1]

In 1859 the *New York Daily Tribune* and *Das Volk*, a German newspaper published in London, printed more than twenty articles by Engels about the war of France and Piedmont against Austria. In 1860 he wrote for the *New York Daily Tribune* about the war that Spain was fighting in Morocco and about the revolutionary campaigns of Guiseppe Garibaldi in Southern Italy. In 1861 he helped Marx to write a series of articles about the Civil War in the United States of America for the Viennese newspaper *Die Presse*. In 1860-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Vol. 11, Russ. Ed., Part. I, p. 166.

62 he wrote for a British military journal, and in 1862-64 for a German military newspaper. He printed a series of articles in connection with the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and a large series of articles on the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. In addition, Marx and Engels wrote nearly 80 articles on military questions for the *New American Cyclopaedia*. Most of these articles were penned by Engels.

His erudition in military matters and the profundity of his analysis of basic materials and concrete facts are truly astounding. Small wonder that the reading public believed that the articles, usually printed anonymously, were written by some prominent military expert.

Engels was the revolutionary proletariat's first military specialist and tactician. His immense knowledge of politics and economics, brilliant grasp of international relations and, most important of all, consummate mastery of materialist dialectics helped him, as distinct from rank-and-file military scientists, to treat war as a social phenomenon determined by the entire course of social development and the class struggle.

He summed up the Marxist proposition on war and military science in *Anti-Dühring*. "Nothing," he wrote, "is more dependent on economic prerequisites than precisely army and navy. Armament, composition, organisation, tactics and strategy depend above all on the stage reached at the time in production and on communications. It is not the 'free creations of the mind' of generals of genius that have had a revolutionizing effect here, but the invention of better weapons and the change in the human material, the soldiers; at the very most, the part played by generals of

genius is limited to adapting methods of fighti to the new weapons and combatants." [1] From th angle in *Anti-Dühring* Engels gives a remark able historical outline of the development of mili tary science.

Engels' huge legacy of military literature retains its value to this day. Lenin, who had himself devoted considerable attention to military science, time and again called upon the Party to learn military art from Engels, pointing to the colossal significance of military knowledge, equipment and organisation as a weapon used by the masses and classes to influence the outcome of great historical collisions.

In Manchester, besides his work in military science, Engels studied languages, for which he had had an inclination from childhood. He now began the systematic study of linguistics and achieved truly astonishing results. In this endeavour, too, he proceeded not only from scientific interest but also from the requirements of the practical international revolutionary work in which he was engaged and which he would have to conduct in future.

In 1852, after having achieved fluency in the basic European languages and acquired a good knowledge of classical languages (Greek and Latin), he began, as he put it, studying Russian "lovingly and thoroughly."

In connection with the Crimean War and his concentration on the Eastern question, Engels studied Persian. At the close of the 1850s he applied himself to ancient Germanic languages. The Danish War of 1864 and the struggle over

[1] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, p. 230.

Schleswig-Holstein induced him to take up the Scandinavian languages.

Towards the close of the 1860s, when the Irish problem was hotly debated in the First International, he studied Celtic-Irish languages. During these years he worked on the Dutch-Friesian and Scottish languages. In his old age he took up the study of the Rumanian and Bulgarian languages in order to direct the socialist movement that was emerging in these countries.

A polyglot in the real sense of the word, he spoke fluently and wrote in twelve languages and could read nearly in twenty languages.

This knowledge of languages enabled him to tackle general problems of linguistics and comparative philology, and lay a firm Marxist foundation for the study of these sciences.

His occupation with linguistics stood him in good stead in his work (in the 1880s) on the history of the ancient Germans and on his book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.* This knowledge served him as an extremely valuable source for the study of the initial phases of the development of civilisation.

He gave a generalised formulation of Marxist views on the origin of languages in his notable work *The Part Played by Labour in the Transition From Ape to Man.*

During his residence in Manchester he continued his study of world literature as part of his linguistic studies. In this sphere too, Engels, one of the most educated men of his day, achieved brilliant results. He was an expert on the literature of different peoples, both European and Eastern, modern and ancient.

Approaching literature and art as a form of social consciousness determined in the last analysis by society's economic basis, he brought to light the class roots of the struggle between the various trends in literature and art. He appealed for moral intelligence and veracity in literature and art, for realism, which "implies, beside truth of detail, the truth in reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances." [1]

The numerous observations in a number of his works and letters are a priceless example of a Marxist approach to problems of literature and art.

At the close of the 1850s he started a comprehensive study of the natural sciences: chemistry, physics, biology and so on. He closely followed new developments in these spheres and enthusiastically acclaimed Charles Darwin's newly-published *Origin of Species* as a grandiose and successful attempt at proving historical development in Nature.

One cannot help being struck by the colossal theoretical, literary and political work which Engels accomplished despite the fact that he had to sit all day in an office and conduct the correspondence of the commercial firm employing him.

* * *

At the close of the 1850s there was a resurgence of the national liberation and bourgeois

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, Moscow, 1965 p. 401.

democratic movements in Europe that had been suppressed by the counter-revolution in 1848-49.

In some countries the unresolved problems of the bourgeois revolution returned to the fore with redoubled force. In Germany and Italy the problem of unification and the establishment of an integral state grew increasingly acute with the development of capitalism.

However, the question arose of how, by what ways and means, this problem was to be resolved.

In Germany the national question grew particularly sharp in 1859 on account of the war which the French emperor Napoleon III (Louis Bonaparte) started against Austria over North Italy. In order to make this war "popular" and thereby strengthen his shaky throne, Louis Bonaparte demagogically used the slogan of Italy's national liberation from Austrian oppression.

France's war against Austria focussed attention on the question of Prussia's stand and on the ways of uniting Germany. Engels believed it was now opportune to publish a pamphlet in which he analysed the war between Austria and France from the military-strategic standpoint, gave a political assessment of that war and defined the stand which the German democratic movement had to adopt towards it.

In this pamphlet, titled *Po und Rhein (The Po and the Rhine)*, he ardently upheld the cause of Italy's national liberation and exposed Bonaparte, who was bringing new oppression to the Italian people under the flag of struggle for their national independence. Furthermore, Engels proved that in fighting a war on the River Po, Bonaparte really had his sights set on the Rhine,

i.e., preparing to strike at Germany. The Bonaparte regime wanted France's neighbour, Germany, to remain economically and politically dismembered. Engels therefore considered it was necessary to act against Bonaparte, believing that a Prussian war against Bonaparte would give rise to a broad popular movement that would sweep away the Prussian government and unite Germany from below, by revolution.

Engels skilfully gave his party-political stand in the question of Germany's unification the form of a military-strategic work, which on Marx's advice he published anonymously.

In 1860 he published, also anonymously, his second pamphlet, *Savoyen, Nizza und der Rhein (Savoy, Nice and the Rhine),* which was a continuation, as it were, of the first.

The stand adopted by Marx and Engels during the Austrian-Italian-French war brought to light serious differences between them and Ferdinand Lassalle, with whom Marx had been corresponding since 1848 and who had repeatedly affirmed his adherence to Marx's party.

When Lassalle began his agitation among the German workers, Marx and Engels at first adopted a wait-and-see attitude and made no public statement against him because at a certain stage Lassalle had played a positive role by helping to free the workers from the influence of the bourgeois Progressive Party. Through their supporters Marx and Engels tried to influence the All-German Workers' Union from within and help the workers in this Union embrace correct positions. But when they learned that Lassalle had betrayed the working-class movement they began an open and uncompromi-

sing struggle against Lassalleanism. But the Lassallean traditions had struck root in the German working-class movement, and the founders of scientific communism had to wage a long struggle against the heritage of Ferdinand Lassalle, who was the founder of opportunism in the German Social-Democratic Party. Their struggle against the nationalistic and opportunistic Lassallean sect acquired a particularly sharp form during the period of the First International.

Engels in the Period of the First International and the Paris Commune

The tireless and persevering struggle which Marx and Engels continued to wage for the international unity of the proletariat under the extremely difficult conditions of reaction culminated in the founding of the First International in 1864.

The historical situation obtaining at the time favoured the establishment of an international organisation of the proletariat. By the end of the 1850s the ice of reaction had, at last, been broken. The revival of the bourgeois-democratic and, particularly, of the national liberation movements at the end of the 1850s and early 1860s facilitated the political awakening of the working class.

The industrial crisis of 1857 sparked the new upsurge of the working-class movement. The development of capitalism increasingly revealed the common destiny and suffering of the proletariat of all countries. This was felt keenly by the workers during the crisis, when the bourgeoisie sought to shift the entire burden of this

crisis onto their shoulders. The workers replied to this with strikes. To combat these strikes the capitalists began to have recourse to the import of foreign workers. The workers saw for themselves that the struggle against the capitalist offensive demanded united and coordinated action of the proletariat of all countries.

The workers moved from economic to political demands. For example, despite Proudhonist appeals to steer clear of politics, the French proletariat became more and more active in the political struggle.

In Germany the workers gradually rid themselves of the political influence of the bourgeoisie. Life made them see the need for trade unions and the strike struggle. This gave rise to the prerequisites for the emergence of a workers' party, different from the party set up by Lassalle.

The British proletariat, fettered by liberal trade unionism, also grew active. This is shown by the dogged strike battles, the political struggle for universal suffrage, and the setting up of the London Council of Trade Unions, which became the centre of the awakening working-class movement. The campaign conducted by the British workers in connection with the Civil War in the USA helped to strengthen the international solidarity of the proletariat. Mass workers' demonstrations and rallies prevented the ruling classes from organising intervention in defence of the slave-owning South against the more progressive states of the North.

The growth of the proletariat's international solidarity manifested itself still more strikingly in connection with the 1863 uprising in Poland;

at numerous international rallies the workers powerfully demonstrated their ardent sympathy for the oppressed Poles and their revulsion for their bloody oppressor—Russian tsarism.

Correctly assessing the international economic and political situation and the fresh upswing of the working-class movement, Marx came to the conclusion that the idea of international proletarian solidarity, for which he and Engels had fought for so many years, could now be successfully translated into reality. The Working Men's International Association was founded on September 28, 1864 at an international meeting in St. Martin's Hall, London.

Marx believed that the basic task of this organisation was to facilitate the separation of the working class from bourgeois democracy, help to give rise to an independent working-class movement, free the workers from the influence of various socialist and semi-socialist sects and educate the worker masses in the spirit of consistent proletarian internationalism.

The difficulties involved in heading the Working Men's International Association became apparent from the very first days of its existence: it was necessary to unite the working-class movement of different countries, which were at the most diverse levels of development, organise the activity of extremely heterogenuous elements, put an end to the sectarian, petty bourgeois trends among them, and raise the working-class movement to a higher stage.

Small wonder that even in drawing up the first programme documents of the International—the *Inaugural Address* and the Rules—Marx encountered difficulties. He wrote about them to

Engels: "It was very difficult to frame the thing so that our view should appear in a form acceptable from the present standpoint of the workers' movement. . . . It will take time before the reawakened movement allows the old boldness of speech. It will be necessary to be *fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.*" [1]

In drawing up the *Address* Marx believed that the experience of the masses and the struggle which he and Engels continued to wage against petty-bourgeois views of all kinds would help the workers to surmount these views and rise to a level where they would understand scientific communism. As soon as the Working Men's International Association was inaugurated Marx began a systematic and persevering struggle aimed at securing the ideological domination of Marxism in the International.

Still residing in Manchester and having to devote much of his time to commerce, Engels could not physically participate in inaugurating the International and in the work of its General Council. But he helped Marx in a most active manner with the leadership of the International and in fighting various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois influences in the working-class movement. Marx kept him fully informed of the situation in the International and of the struggle he was having to wage in the General Council. He asked Engels for advice on diverse problems and frequently asked him to prepare various ma-

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 149.

terials for sittings of the General Council. For instance, Engels wrote a detailed report on the miners' unions in the coal mines of Saxony. In 1869 it was published by the General Council as a report by Karl Marx in his capacity as Secretary of the General Council for Germany.

In addition to his extensive theoretical study and gigantic work in the leadership of the International, Marx was completing the first volume of *Capital*. This undermined his already poor health. Moreover, financial difficulties also had their effect. In 1862, due to the Civil War in the USA, he discontinued his collaboration with the *New York Daily Tribune*. After Engels was promoted to a leading position in the firm and became a share-holder he was able to give Marx considerably greater financial assistance. But the children were growing, and that increased the outlays and the difficulties experienced by the Marx family. For that reason, sometimes household articles and even clothes were pawned and Marx was unable to leave the house or write, because there was no money for paper.

At one of these difficult moments Marx turned to Engels for more help, writing: "I assure you that for me it would have been easier to hack off my thumbs than to write this letter. The thought that half my life I have been dependent on others is enough to drive me to despair. The only thought sustaining me is that you and I are working as partners, with myself handling the theoretical and party end of the work." [1]

With the affection and devotion of a friend

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 23, p. 294.

and the unbounded concern of a party member for its great leader, Engels always hastened to help Marx. His letters to Marx, which usually began with the information that several pounds had been transmitted, show his moving and attentive concern for Marx and his family. When Marx's health took a drastic turn for the worse, Engels anxiously consulted doctors, tried to persuade Marx to come to Manchester for a rest, and took steps to have Marx's illness treated.

"Do me and your family just one favour—*allow yourself to be treated.* What will happen to the whole movement if anything happens to you? If you persist in your present behaviour you will *inevitably* bring things to that impasse. Indeed, I shall have no peace of mind, day or night, until I get you out of the lurch, and every day that I do not hear from you I worry and think that you are feeling worse." [1]

In an article entitled *Karl Marx* Lenin emphasised that without Engels' constant and selfless financial support Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have perished under the weight of poverty.

Engels' help towards the work on *Capital* was not confined to material concern about Marx. Marx usually sought his advice on key theoretical problems, stating his conclusions in his letters and requesting Engels' opinion on them. Marx often consulted with his friend on practical problems of economics, a field Engels knew thoroughly.

Sometimes Engels reproved Marx in a friend-

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 23, p. 328.

ly way for his excessive scientific conscientiousness, for his habit of not considering a work completed until he was sure he had not overlooked a single book on the question and had considered all possible arguments.

Knowing this aspect of Marx's work, as a consequence of which the type-setting of the first volume was endlessly protracted, Engels hurried Marx to publish the first volume of *Capital* before the other volumes were finished.

Finally, on March 27, 1867, Marx informed Engels that he had completed his work on the manuscript of the first volume and intended to take it to the printers in Hamburg. This news cheered Engels.

When the proofs began to arrive from Hamburg, Marx forwarded them to Manchester in order to get his friend's opinion, which he valued above all else.

On August 16, 1867 Marx informed Engels that he had finished reading the last (49th) proof of *Capital*. He had also sent the preface. "So *this volume is finished*," Marx wrote. "It was thanks to *you* alone that this became possible. Without your self-sacrifice for me I could never possibly have done the enormous work for the three volumes. I embrace you, full of thanks!... Greetings, my dear, beloved friend!" [1]

The completion of the first volume was not only a big event in the life of Marx and Engels—it was an event of tremendous epochal significance to the entire working-class movement and to the development of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 192.

"As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us," [1] Engels wrote of *Capital*.

It took Marx twenty-five years of painstaking scientific research to complete his economic teaching.

The result of this gigantic work was Marx's truly monumental *Capital*. In this immortal creation strict science combines with revolutionary passion, relentless objectivity with profound partisanship. By using the mighty instrument of materialist dialectics, Marx created an economic teaching, which accomplished a basic upheaval in political economy.

How did bourgeois science react to *Capital*? It knew that slander and curses were not enough against Marx's strictly scientific arguments and preferred to ignore the appearance of *Capital*.

In order to break down the wall of silence which the bourgeois press had built round *Capital* Engels did not confine himself to publishing reviews in the few newspapers that were then associated with the working-class movement. He conceived the idea of sending to some of the bourgeois newspapers a series of critical reviews through figure-heads. In a letter dated September 11, 1867 he asked Marx: "Do you think I should write a criticism of the book from the bourgeois point of view in order to start the ball rolling?" Marx replied: "Your plan to criticise the book from the *bourgeois point of view is the best tactical means.*"

---

[1] F. Engels, *On Marx's Capital*, Moscow, 1965, p. 13.

To put this tactic into effect Engels used the assistance of some close friends and supporters, sending them samples of the articles which they could publish in different variants in the bourgeois press. His objective was to make people talk about the book and compel bourgeois economists to state their opinion.

As a result, some of Engels' reviews appeared in the bourgeois newspapers. In these reviews he displayed an uncanny skill in bringing the reader round to the views of Marx in such a way that he got the impression that Marx was right and his "critic" was wrong. Actually, these reviews were spearheaded at the exponents of vulgar political economy, whom Engels provoked to make statements on *Capital*.

Engels regarded the completion of the first volume of *Capital* as a turning point not only of Marx's but also his own life. There was now hope that Marx's literary income would increase and that Engels would be able to give up commerce altogether and, with Marx, live on the small means that he would get upon his resignation from the firm, plus his literary income. "I desire nothing so much," he wrote in a letter to Marx, "as liberation from this beastly commerce." [1]

However, a little over two more years passed after the completion of the first volume of *Capital* before Engels was able to make good his intention.

Marx's youngest daughter Eleanor (Tussy),

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 23. p. 406.

who was visiting with Engels at the time, relates this memorable day:

"I shall never forget the triumph with which he exclaimed: 'For the last time!' as he put on his boots in the morning to go to the office for the last time.

"A few hours later we were standing at the gate waiting for him. We saw him coming over the little field opposite the house where he lived. He was swinging his stick in the air and singing, his face beaming. Then we set the table for a celebration and drank champagne and were very happy.

"I was then too young to understand all that and when I think of it now the tears come to my eyes." [1]

This happiness of a man who had at last shaken off the heavy burden that had lain on his shoulders for many years is felt also in Engels' letters to his relatives and friends. "This is my first day of freedom...", he wrote to his mother. "I like my new freedom very much. Since yesterday I have become a different man and feel ten years younger."[2]

However, he had to stay in Manchester for some time longer to settle his affairs. He now had leisure time and used it for serious scientific work on the history of Ireland. With his wife Lizzy (sister of the deceased Mary) and Marx's daughter Eleanor he undertook a journey in Ireland to get a first-hand impression of that oppressed country.

---

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 186.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 24, p. 20.

His interest in Ireland was not accidental. The Irish question was playing a big role at the time in the International. In the national strife between the English and Irish workers, a strife that was artificially fanned by the ruling classes, Marx and Engels saw the secret of the helplessness of the British working class. They considered that the International had to awaken in the British proletariat the consciousness that "the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but *the first condition of their own social emancipation.*"[1]

They called upon the British proletariat to start an active struggle for the independence of Ireland: the secession of Ireland and an agrarian revolution in that country would hit the English ruling classes (the bourgeoisie and landowners) hard and give impetus to the unleashing of revolution in England herself. The revolution would, in its turn, powerfully influence the revolutionary movement on the continent.

"The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question," Lenin wrote, "serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nations should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its immense *practical* importance."[2]

This policy served Lenin as the point of departure for his elaboration of the national-colonial question in the epoch of imperialism.

Engels began his study of Ireland at a time when the Irish question grew especially acute as

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 237.
[2] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p 442.

a result of the upsurge of the agrarian movement in Ireland and the brutal reprisals taken by the British government against Irish revolutionaries—Fenians. Engels' wife Lizzy Burns, "an Irish girl with revolutionary convictions," as Engels described her, warmly sympathized with the struggle her people was waging for national independence and actively helped the Irish revolutionaries by hiding them and giving them all other assistance in her home. While doing his utmost to help the Fenians, Engels criticised them for their conspiratorial tactics, for trying to organise "putsches" and for their lack of contact with the masses of the freedom-loving Irish people.

He attached tremendous theoretical and political importance to the Irish question and planned a fundamental work on the history of Ireland. However, he never finished the book. As he had foreseen, major political events soon took place in Europe and tore him away from theoretical work for a long time. These events were the war between France and Prussia, and the Paris Commune.

* *
*

War between France and Prussia broke out on July 19, 1870.

From the very outset of the war Engels sent regular reports with a review of the course of hostilities to the *Pall Mall Gazette*. These articles under the general heading *Notes About the War* caused a sensation because their forecasts of the course of the war inevitably turned out

to be true. For instance, eight days before the Battle of Sedan Engels predicted the defeat of the French Army. Since these articles were unsigned it was believed that they were written by leading military experts.

Engels' articles evoked the admiration of friends who knew he was writing them.

This was when one of Marx's daughters, Jenny, gave Engels the nickname "General", and it stuck to him in his immediate circle.

In September 1870 Engels moved from Manchester to London and took lodgings some 10 minutes' walk from Marx's home. The friends could now meet and discuss all problems which they formerly had been compelled to discuss mainly by correspondence.

Engels saw Marx daily, and they either went for a walk or talked in Marx's study. Eleanor Marx relates that they would pace the room, each along his own diagonal, turning at the corners on their heels, and talk for hours. Sometimes a problem would be discussed in the course of several such conferences.

"I remember a discussion on the Albigenses," relates Paul Lafargue, husband of Marx's daughter Laura, "that lasted for several days... In the intervals between their meetings they studied the disputed question in order to form a common opinion. No other criticism of their thoughts and work was as valuable for them as their mutual criticism. They had the highest opinion of each other.

"Marx never tired of admiring the universality of Engels' knowledge and the wonderful versatility of his mind which allowed him to pass with ease from one subject to another, while

Engels took pleasure in admitting the force of Marx's analysis and synthesis."[1]

In London, on Marx's recommendation, Engels was co-opted into the General Council of the International. With the greatest joy Engels now immersed himself in political and organisational work. Together with Marx he directed the campaign for recognition of the French Republic and sharply criticised the leaders of the British trade unions affiliated to the International for their inadequate participation in this campaign and generally failing to put up a vigorous opposition to Britain's foreign policy. At a meeting of the General Council towards the end of January 1871 Engels submitted a resolution exposing the foreign policy of the British government. This resolution sparked a long and stormy debate in the General Council.

In his *Notes About the War* Engels denounced the predatory policy of the Bismarck government and the barbarous methods of waging war "in a Prussian way". He hailed the French partisans, who took up arms in order to fight the invaders.

While agitating for recognition of the French republic Marx and Engels exposed the French government and general staff as people whom fear of the workers was driving towards high treason, towards peace with the Prussians on any terms, in order to have a free hand against the French people. This was not a "government of national defence", as it styled itself, but a "go-

---

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Moscow, 1957, p. 90.

vernment of national treachery", as Marx aptly called it.

The French workers soon saw how true this was from the government's capitulationist foreign policy and its attempts to break the fighting spirit of the armed workers, defenders of besieged Paris, by starvation and military defeat. On March 18 the Thiers government tried to strike a decisive blow at the Paris proletariat and seize the artillery of the National Guard in the Montmartre district. The people rose in revolt in response to these attempts. The frightened government fled to Versailles. For the first time in history power was in the hands of the workers.

After the upheaval of September 4, 1870 Marx and Engels warned the French proletariat against a premature uprising in a situation where Prussian troops were already at the gates of Paris. They counseled the workers to make wide use of the legal possibilities accorded by the Republic in order to take energetic steps to strengthen their own organisation as the key factor of a victorious struggle.

However, as soon as the course of events and the logic of the class struggle led to the revolution of March 18, Marx and Engels hurried to the aid of the Paris workers with all the ardour of proletarian leaders and joined the mass struggle of the heroic proletarians of Paris.

Engels was in the very thick of the intensive work that the General Council of the International started under Marx's leadership to mobilise the international proletariat and the workers of France in order to help revolutionary Paris.

Marx and Engels helped the Communards in

every way they could: by advice, criticism of their mistakes, secret information about the state of the Prussian army, recommendations on how to defend Paris, and so on.

However, the advice that they sent to besieged Paris in face of enormous difficulties could not remove the fatal shortcoming of the French working-class movement, namely, the absence of an advanced proletarian party.

Although Marx and Engels foresaw the possibility of the Paris Commune being deposed, they underscored the great historic role that it had already played by ushering in a new epoch of world history.

In *The Civil War in France* Marx with his talent for *grasping* the deep-rooted significance of developments showed the epoch-making importance of the Paris Commune.

He analysed the work of the Commune and on that basis substantiated the proposition, put forward earlier by him, that the proletariat had to sweep away the old state machine. The Commune had shown in practice that the working class could not simply take over the old state machine and use it for its own purposes. Marx and Engels attached so much importance to this deduction on the tasks of the working class with regard to the old, bourgeois state apparatus that in their preface, written in 1872, to the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* they regarded it as an essential addition to the first programme document of Marxism.

Moreover, the experience of the Paris Commune enabled Marx to outline the new type of state that had to be built by the proletariat. He proved that the Commune was a genuinely na-

tional government of France, the champion of the interests of the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and the representative of all the healthy elements of French society. He lauded the feat of the Communards and wrathfully branded those who butchered them.

The Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune ended an important period in the history of the working-class movement. At the outset of that period the teaching of Marx and Engels was by no means predominant. It was one of many socialist theories. But the revolution of 1848 and particularly the Paris Commune dealt a mortal blow to all varieties of pre-Marxian petty-bourgeois socialism.

However, pre-Marxian socialism and the different petty-bourgeois trends in the working-class movement were not inclined to leave the scene without a battle. This battle was fought in a situation marked by brutal government persecution to which, after the fall of the Paris Commune, the International was subjected in all countries. Military tribunals, civil courts, the secret police, the gendarmerie and the numerous press of the ruling classes now vied with each other in persecuting the Working Men's International Association. This could not help but influence the opportunist elements in the International.

Differences in the General Council became evident immediately after the publication of *The Civil War in France*, in which the International openly sided with the Commune. The bourgeois press, which raised a howl in connection with the publication of *The Civil War in France*, influenced the attitude of the leaders of

the British trade unions. Over the issue of solidarity with the Paris Commune they betrayed the International at a crucial moment. The General Council unanimously expelled them from its ranks.

This period witnessed intensified attacks on the General Council by the Bakuninites, who had launched their assault on Marxism before the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune.

Bakunin had joined the International in 1869, and instead of disbanding his organisation—the Socialist-Democratic Alliance—as he had promised, he secretly sought to enlarge it and thereby create his own organisation of anarchists in the International. With the support of this secret organisation he counted on taking over the leadership of the Working Men's International Association. Bakunin's anarchist theories found support in a number of countries with a predominantly petty-bourgeois population, for example, Spain, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium.

The attitude towards the Commune, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletarian party now became the touchstone for the different trends in the International.

The fact that Engels now resided in London was of tremendous assistance to Marx in his work of leading the International and in his struggle against hostile trends.

Engels took over a considerable part of the work in the General Council. He was appointed Secretary for Belgium and later Secretary-Correspondent for Spain. In August 1871, while remaining Secretary for Spain, he was elected Secretary for Italy. Subsequently, he also acted as Secretary for Portugal and Denmark.

In his work in the International he used his brilliant knowledge of languages to translate documents of the International and carry on a vast correspondence.

Deriving immense pleasure from his revolutionary activity, he carried on extensive organisational work in the International.

After the fall of the Paris Commune, when great numbers of emigres flocked to London from Paris, Engels superintended material assistance to them from the International.

As the Secretary-Correspondent for a number of countries he went to the assistance of every contingent of the proletariat that joined battle against the oppressors. He organised wide support of the strike of cigar-workers in Antwerp and of the strike movement in Brussels; he appealed to the London workers to support the strikes of textile workers in Barcelona, of the coopers in Santander, of the tanners in Valencia, and so on. After every strike new contingents of the proletariat joined the Working Men's International Association.

He was the General Council's Secretary for the most difficult sections of the International. The secret Bakunin organisation spread its nets in Spain and Italy and in many cases the persons heading the sections of the International in these countries were influenced by Bakunin.

In the directives and circulars which he sent to the leadership of the national sections on behalf of the General Council he propagated the experience and lessons of the Commune, patiently and untiringly explaining the principles of the working-class scientific strategy and tactics,

straightening out various Bakuninist kinks among the section leaders with consummate tact and waging an uncompromising struggle against Bakunin and his agents.

"The possessing classes—the landed aristocracy and the bourgeoisie—keep the working people in servitude," he wrote, "not only by the might of their wealth, by the simple exploitation of labour by capital, but also by the power of the state—by the army, the bureaucracy, the courts. To give up fighting our adversaries in the political field would mean to abandon one of the most powerful means of struggle, particularly in the sphere of organisation and propaganda."[1]

He was very active in helping to convene the London Conference of the International in September 1871. He was chairman of the agenda subcommittee. In a speech on the political actions of the working class he showed that it was absurd to preach aloofness from politics, especially after the Paris Commune, which had put political actions by the proletariat on the agenda. In the resolution passed at the Conference it was stressed that against the collective power of the propertied classes the proletariat could act as a class only after it had organised itself into an independent political party; the proletarian party was needed in order to ensure the victory of the social revolution and the attainment of its end goal, the eradication of classes. The London Conference condemned all sectarian organisations and extended the rights of the General Council.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels. *Selected Correspondence*, p. 260.

The decisions of the London Conference, which were a fresh triumph of Marxism, were given a hostile reception by the Bakuninites. Determined to turn the International into an association of independent, "autonomous" groups, into a mixture of factions and trends, and seeking to reduce its General Council from a militant headquarters to a "letter box" and an information bureau, the Bakuninites accused the General Council of "usurping power" and howled about a "dictatorship of Germans," of Marx in particular, in the International. They levelled a stream of slander at the General Council and Marx. In his letters Engels pressed for effective proletarian discipline against the attempts of the Bakuninites to discredit the Conference decisions and blow the International up from within.

In the struggle against their most dangerous enemy in the International—Bakuninism—Marx and Engels had the wholehearted support of the International's Russian section. Its organisers—Russian political emigres who had been brought up on the ideas of great revolutionary democrats like Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov—requested Marx to be their representative in the General Council. In a letter of reply, dated March 24, 1870, Marx wrote that the Russian section had been admitted to the International and gave his consent to be its representative in the General Council. The Russian section accorded Marx and Engels effectual assistance by sending them documentary evidence on the disruptive activity of Bakunin and his supporters, particularly in Russia.

The final blow at the Bakuninites was struck at the Hague Congress of the International in

1872. Engels was extremely active during the preparations for this Congress. He was chairman of the subcommittee set up to draft the Rules, and in a report to the General Council on July 2 suggested extending the powers of the General Council by giving it the right to expel individual sections and federal councils until the next Congress. He corresponded extensively with a number of sections, his letters invariably exposing open and secret Bakuninite agents; he sought to bring to the fore and unite the finest elements round the General Council, and carried on painstaking organisational work, counting every vote and every mandate in order to ensure Marx and his supporters a united and reliable majority at the Congress.

Despite the frenzied subversive activities of the Bakuninites on the eve of the Congress and despite all their intrigues and machinations, the supporters of Marx and Engels won the majority at the Congress, which witnessed a sharp struggle against the Bakuninites.

In spite of the Bakunin opposition, the Congress recognized the need for a political struggle and for a proletarian party as the principal condition for a victorious socialist revolution. This key proposition of Marxism was included in the Rules of the International and thereby became a law for all its members.

The Congress set up a commission to investigate the subversive activities of the Bakuninites in the International. A report written by Engels contained numerous indisputable facts about the specious, double-faced policy of the Bakuninites and of their divisive activities in the various national sections of the International. "For the first

time in the history of the working-class struggle," he wrote in this report, "we are confronted with a conspiracy within the working class itself, a conspiracy whose aim is to blow up not the modern exploiting system but the Association that conducts a most energetic struggle against that system."[1]

The Bakuninites were expelled from the International. Marxism triumphed over anarchism, which was dragging the working-class movement back and was rendering invaluable services to the bourgeoisie by its disorganising factional work and its fight against the political activities of the working class, against the proletarian party and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At the Hague Congress Engels moved a substantiated proposal for moving the General Council to New York. His motives were the mounting persecution of the International by the European governments, and also the divisive and subversive activities of the anarchists and other petty-bourgeois elements, who had entrenched themselves in some sections of the International.

After this Congress Engels was extremely active in helping the General Council, which had moved to New York. He kept Friedrich Sorge, General Secretary of the International, abreast of the situation in the International's sections in various European countries and continued fighting the anarchist opponents of Marxism.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 18, Part II, p. 497.

* *
*

Marxism had scored an ideological victory in the International, and the fundamental changes that had taken place in the world were mirrored in the work of the Working Men's International Association.

Lenin described the situation after the defeat of the Commune as follows: "...the worker of Britain corrupted by imperialist profits, the Commune defeated in Paris, the recent (1871) triumph of the bourgeois national movement in Germany, the age-long sleep of semi-feudal Russia."[1] "Marx and Engels gauged the times accurately; they understood the international situation; they understood that the approach to the beginning of the social revolution must be *slow*."[2] The premier task was now to proceed slowly with preparatory work, muster and organise forces and set up proletarian parties in different countries.

In its old shape the International no longer corresponded to the new tasks, which history now posed before the working class.

But the International had fulfilled a great historic role: all varieties of pre-Marxian socialism had been smashed as a result of the untiring struggle which Marx and Engels and their supporters had waged against the various sects.

The successful dissemination of Marx's teaching and the education of cadres that could form the nucleus of future proletarian parties created the prerequisites for the formation of large So-

[1] Lenin, *Coll Works*, Vol. 24, p. 86.
[2] Ibid.

cialist parties in different countries. "The First International," Lenin wrote, "had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labour movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in *scope*, and *mass*, socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed." [1]

The international solidarity of the proletariat, embodied in the Working Men's International Association, continued to grow in scale and strength, only acquiring new forms intrinsic to the new and higher stage of the working-class movement.

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 21, p. 49.

Engels After the Paris Commune and the First International. Death of Marx (1883)

The period after the Paris Commune and the disbandment of the First International was characterised by "peace" and an absence of revolutions. The West had ended with bourgeois revolutions. The East had not yet arrived at that stage. The West was entering the period of 'peaceful' preparation for the epoch of future transformations.

Marx and Engels now turned their attention to the establishment of proletarian parties in each country and to preparing them for future battles for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They educated the leading cadres of these parties, helping them with advice in drawing up their programmes and charting strategy and tactics. They gave careful consideration to the specifics of each country, to its economy, alignment of class forces, the experience accumulated by its working class, the ideological level of the working-class movement and the obstacles hindering the integration of socialism with that movement, and the ways and means of forming a mass proletarian party.

While helping to set up socialist parties in dif-

ferent countries, they concentrated mainly on the struggle for the purity of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, for the monolithic quality of the parties, for purifying them of all sorts of petty-bourgeois, opportunist elements, and for unity between theory and practice.

With the disbandment of the First International the role played by Marx and Engels in leading and uniting the working-class movement did not diminish. On the contrary, its scale increased. The main burden of the day-to-day practical leadership in a number of countries and of the fight against overt and covert adversaries of Marxism now fell on Engels' shoulders. "As a consequence of the division of labour that existed between Marx and myself," Engels wrote of this period, "it fell to me to present our opinions in the periodical press, and therefore, particularly in the fight against opposing views, in order that Marx should have time for the elaboration of his great basic work."[1] What Engels writes here of contributions to the periodical press also concerns correspondence with Socialists in many countries. Most of this correspondence was conducted now by Engels.

While fighting for the formation of Socialist parties in different countries Marx and Engels paid particular attention to the German working-class movement. This was not accidental. After the Franco-Prussian War and the fall of the Paris Commune the centre of the working-class movement temporarily shifted to Germany.

In a series of letters and articles Engels profoundly analysed why, after the fall of the Com-

[1] F. Engels, *The Housing Question*, Moscow, 1955, p. 12.

mune, the German workers found themselves at the head of the international proletariat and were the first to set up a large Social-Democratic Party. One of the basic reasons, Engels believed, was that industrial development in Germany started later and was faster than in Britain and France. The industrial revolution that commenced in Germany after 1848 was accompanied by the ruin of the peasants and artisans and by intensified exploitation of the workers. In order to meet the competition of the older industrial countries in the world market, the German industrialists sought to introduce technological improvements in their factories and reduce the wages of the workers. This led to an aggravation of class contradictions and to the rapid spread of revolutionary feeling among the working class and also among the petty bourgeoisie and the peasants.

Engels held that in addition to the far-reaching industrial revolution and the related acuteness of the class struggle, one of the reasons that the German working-class movement was in the forefront was that in Marxism it had acquired a programme such as its forerunners, the British and the French, had never had.

However, despite these favourable conditions, the formation of a workers' party in Germany was far from being a simple and easy process. It was formed in struggle against the bourgeoisie and the Junkers, against their attempts to gain control of the working-class movement, and also in unceasing struggle against petty-bourgeois influences that had seeped into the party and found expression in the shape of Right and "Left" opportunism.

In his letters and in articles printed in the working-class press Engels continued his tireless fight against Lassalleanism, at the same time helping the Social-Democratic Labour Party, founded at Eisenach, to rectify its guidelines, and criticising its immature theoretical views and political mistakes.

In the 1870s, as a result of the turbulent industrial revolution, the housing question became particularly acute in Germany, and was broadly discussed in the press. Various "social charlatans" like Dr. Mülberger had acquired prominence in the course of this discussion.

In the spirit of Proudhon, Mülberger devised fantastic schemes for eradicating the ugly aspects of capitalism, particularly the housing shortage, without destroying their foundation—the capitalist mode of production. He dreamed of making every tenant the owner of his home, and the whole of society into a totality of independent free householders.

In a series of polemical articles that were later published under the general title of *The Housing Question*, Engels denounced the reactionary nature of these petty-bourgeois dreams, which tried to reverse the wheel of history and turn the contemporary proletarian into a small proprietor, owning his tiny house, kitchen garden and a patch of land—in other words, to tie him to the land again. Showing that plans of this kind were both untenable and reactionary, Engels stressed that "as long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the

capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself."[1]

This solution could only be achieved through "political action by the proletariat and of its dictatorship as the transition to the abolition of classes and with them of the state—views such as had already been expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* and since then on innumerable occasions."[2]

The dictatorship of the proletariat would not only end all the misfortunes to which the working class was doomed in capitalist society but also erase the antithesis between town and country, an antithesis carried to the extreme by capitalism. The victorious proletarian revolution would tear the rural population out of its millennia-long isolation and torpor. Exposing the Proudhonists' reactionary plan of preserving small-scale, parcelled-out peasant agriculture, Engels maintained that the task of the proletariat was in promoting "agriculture on a large scale—the only system of farming which can utilize all modern facilities, machinery, etc.—by associated workers, and thus demonstrating to the small peasants the advantages of large-scale operation by means of association."[3]

Engels attacked Mülberger, who believed that the antithesis between town and country was natural and eternal, and the demand for its eradication utopian. A Utopian was not one who considered the elimination of one antithesis or ano-

---

[1] F. Engels, *The Housing Question*, p. 121.
[2] Ibid., p. 126.
[3] Ibid., p. 160.

ther necessary and inevitable by means of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but one who wanted to foresee all the specific forms in which this antithesis would be destroyed. Engels did not offer any guess as to how the housing or any other problem would be resolved in the future socialist society. Even transitional measures, he pointed out, would undergo a change depending on definite social relations. To offer ready-made recipes beforehand for all conditions would be tantamount to supplanting science by quackery.

This and also the acute need for a united front in face of government persecution raised the question of uniting parties, of forming a united Social-Democratic Party of Germany.

The question was when, in what form and on what principled foundation such unity would take shape.

Generally, Marx and Engels were not against uniting parties, but they were against hasty and unprincipled unification. They regarded a fundamentally clear-cut programme of unification as the guarantee of genuine and lasting unity, and a condition for creating a militant proletarian party. They repeatedly warned the Eisenach leaders, Liebknecht in particular, against pursuing unity at any price, for this could be extremely injurious to the German working-class movement.

On this point Engels wrote that "the efficient elements among the Lassalleans will fall to you of themselves in course of time and that it would, therefore, be unwise to break off the fruit before it is ripe, as the unity crowd wants to... The movement of the proletariat necessarily pas-

ses through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance."[1]

The length to which the Eisenach leaders went in making concessions to the Lassalleans is seen in the fact that the programme contained the Lassallean thesis of "a united reactionary mass" and the demand for the organisation of producers' associations with state assistance and for an "iron-clad law on wages." On the other hand, there was not a word in the programme about trade unions and strikes, about the international solidarity of workers or the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lassallean "free people's state" figured in the programme instead of the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his criticism of these points of the programme, Engels was particularly sharp in his attack on the opportunist muddle in the question of the state.

"As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist."[2]

Lenin considered this one of the most brilliant arguments in the works of Marx and Engels on the question of the state. He emphasised that this letter of Engels was not accidentally kept under lock and key for 36 years by the leaders of the

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 476.
[2] Ibid., p. 42.

German Social-Democratic movement, who distorted and vulgarised Marx's teaching of the state.

However, some of the Eisenach leaders evidently did not regard Engels' criticism of the draft programme convincing. As a result Marx and Engels found it necessary to come forward with a more extended criticism of the draft. This was fulfilled by Marx in his celebrated *Critique of the Gotha Programme* (1875).

In denouncing the erroneous, anti-scientific dogmas of the Lassalleans, Marx dealt with a number of major theoretical issues, and further developed his revolutionary theory.

Critique of the Gotha Programme contains an economic analysis of the future society and traces the link between the development of communism and the withering away of the state. In this book Marx presented an extraordinarily important scientific discovery—he distinguished two phases of communist society: the first and lower, and the second and higher phases. The first, lower phase of communism, or socialism, is characterised by public ownership of the means of production and by the distribution of material values according to work. After the quantity of labour that goes into social funds is discounted, the worker receives from society as much as he gives it. At the higher stage of communism, when the productive forces and productivity of social labour reach a level ensuring an abundance of material values, the principle of distribution will be: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

A most detailed formulation of the views of Marx and Engels on the state and the dictator-

ship of the proletariat is given in *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. While in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* they made the first step and gave a somewhat abstract formulation of their teaching on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, after the experience of 1848 Marx spoke of the need for smashing the bourgeois state machine, and in 1871 after the fall of the Commune he indicated *what* should replace that machine. In *Critique of the Gotha Programme* he recorded his famous argument, which summed up his entire teaching on the state:

"Between capitalist and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but *the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat*."[1]

Although Marx and Engels sharply criticised the draft programme it was adopted at the unity congress in Gotha with slight amendments.

The new-fangled socialist system invented by Eugen Dühring, professor at Berlin University, loudly proclaimed as an upheaval in philosophy, political economy and socialism, in fact was a curious mixture of all sorts of outworn petty-bourgeois theories.

Marx and Engels came out against this new-fledged "social reformer," whose ideas were made all the more dangerous by the fact that some leaders of the German Social-Democratic movement intended to popularise them among the workers. Articles lauding Dühring began to appear in the socialist press.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, pp. 32—33.

To avoid diverting Marx from his work on *Capital*, Engels undertook the criticism of the "dull" Dühring. Sticking to their habit of helping each other in special fields, Marx wrote for Engels' book the tenth chapter devoted to political economy. Engels read the entire manuscript to his friend before sending it to the printers. A series of articles by Engels began to appear early in 1877 in *Vorwärts*, organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, under the ironic heading *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. The last of this series of polemical articles was printed in mid-1878, and in the same year they were brought out as a book, which became widely known by the title *Anti-Dühring*.

Inasmuch as Dühring's "system" embraced a vast sphere of human knowledge, Engels had, in attacking it, to deal with a huge range of subjects: from the concept of space and time to bimetallism; from the eternity of matter and movement to the transient nature of moral ideas; from the Darwin natural selection to the education of young people in the future society.

"As a result, my negative criticism became positive; the polemic was transformed into a more or less connected exposition of the dialectical method and of the communist world outlook fought for by Marx and myself—an exposition covering a fairly comprehensive range of subjects."[1]

Thus, the polemic with Dühring gave birth to a kind of Marxist encyclopaedia dealing with numerous problems of philosophy, natural science, political economy and socialism.

---

[1] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1962, p. 14.

The central idea of the work is the defence of a consistently materialistic world outlook against any concession to idealism and religious prejudices. "Either materialism consistent to the end, or the falsehood and confusion of philosophical idealism—such is the formulation of the question given in *every paragraph* of *Anti-Dühring*." [1]

In the struggle against idealist philosophy and also against vulgar materialism, Engels upheld and developed materialist dialectics as a science of the general laws of the development of Nature, society and human thinking.

In *Anti-Dühring* he summed up the first results of his study in theoretical natural science. Using innumerable examples from mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology he showed that "in nature, amid the welter of innumerable changes, the same dialectical laws of motion force their way through as those which in history govern the apparent fortuitousness of events." [2] *Anti-Dühring* tremendously advanced Marxism as a science treating of the laws governing the development of Nature and society, as a science treating of the revolutionary remaking of the world.

Revealing in full the ideological wealth of scientific communism, this work continues to serve as a most valuable source for the study of Marxism and as an effective weapon in the struggle against its enemies. A particularly great part in popularising Marxism was played by the pamphlet *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which Engels wrote on the basis of three chapters

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 14, p. 338.
[2] F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 17.

in *Anti-Dühring*. This pamphlet deals with the three sources and three components of Marxism, and this makes it a popular introduction to the theory of scientific communism.

Anti-Dühring struck a blow at the petty-bourgeois elements, politically immature students and pseudo-scientists who had penetrated the German Social-Democratic Party. Covering their ignorance with bombast, they laid claim to the role of party theoreticians.

The dangerous influence of these elements was particularly felt in the difficult period that began for the German Social-Democratic movement with the passage of a law discriminating against Socialists.

Attempted assassination of the German emperor was the pretext for passing this law. The Bismarck government decided to use this pretext to set the ruling classes and the petty bourgeoisie against the "Red spectre."

In face of the radical change of the tactics used by the ruling classes against the Social-Democratic movement, the party had to be able to reorient itself quickly, adopt new tactics and reorganise its ranks. But, as experience showed, the party proved to be unprepared for this historical test.

The party leadership disintegrated even before this law was promulgated. Instead of at once getting down to forming an illegal organisation and establishing an illegal newspaper, the Central Committee (which was known as the Central Electoral Committee) and the party group in the Reichstag decided to disband the party voluntarily. Thus, in face of the attacks by reaction, the party members found themselves

without a rallying centre, without leading directives, without aid and contacts, and without a tactical and organisational plan.

In their efforts to rectify the tactics of the party leaders and steer them towards a revolutionary course, which alone was worthy of the workers' party, Marx and Engels pinned their hopes chiefly on the worker masses of Germany. In his letters Engels repeatedly stressed that "a feature of the German movement is that all the errors of the leadership are always corrected by the masses. It will be the same, this time, too, of course."[1]

Indeed, despite the discord in the leadership, the party masses began gradually to restore ruptured contacts and set up an illegal organisation. Thanks to this initiative of the masses and also as a result of relentless criticism from Marx and Engels, the finest of the party leaders, whom the law had caught by surprise, began to rectify their policies. But this was not always done opportunely, consistently and with determination.

During the first few months after the discriminatory law was passed, the party leaders did nothing to set up an illegal newspaper, and even hindered the circulation of the newspapers *Freiheit* (Freedom) and *Laterne* (Lantern), whose publication was organised abroad by individual Social-Democrats. But they were now compelled to organise an illegal party newspaper.

Marx and Engels were furious when they learned that it was intended to put such the sorry Socialists as Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm in charge of the newspaper. In his own

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, p. 85.

name and on Marx's behalf Engels at once protested to Bebel against this editorial staff and withdrew his and Marx's agreement to collaborate with the newspaper.

They wrote a *Circular* in which they lashed out not only at the openly opportunist views of Höchberg, Bernstein and Schramm but also at the party leadership's conciliatory attitude towards these men.

Engels opposed the cowardly and shameful tactics of these men with fundamentally different, revolutionary tactics of the proletariat: "Not to twist and turn under the blows of the opponent, not to whine and moan and stammer excuses that you did not mean any harm—as so many still do. Hit back, that's what you have to do, two or three blows for every one the enemy strikes. That has always been our tactic and so far I believe we have got the best of almost every one of our opponents.[1]

Simultaneously with their fight against Right opportunism in the German social-democratic movement, Marx and Engels fought the "Left", the heroes of revolutionary verbiage.

The rise of "Left" opportunism during the period of the discriminatory law was linked with the name of Johann Most, editor of *Freiheit*.

Initially adopting a moderate tone in his newspaper, Most soon turned sharply to the "Left". Using the opportunist mistakes of the party group in the Reichstag as his point of departure, Most went to the other extreme, rejecting the need for utilising the parliament and other legal possibilities. This anarchistic criticism of parliamenta-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 357.

rism by Most differed fundamentally from the criticism by Marx and Engels, whose aim was not to reject the utilisation of legal possibilities or recall the socialist deputies from the parliament but to rectify their mistakes and teach them to use the parliament skilfully for revolutionary propaganda and for rallying the masses.

Anarchistic criticism of parliamentarism soon led Most to an open rupture with the party. In September 1879 his newspaper printed a proposal for the organisation of a new party. At the same time Most revised his own theoretical views, sinking deeper into anarchism.

By upholding the purity of revolutionary theory and opposing opportunism of all sorts in theory and practice, Marx and Engels rendered invaluable assistance to the German Social-Democratic movement in evolving tactics and a plan of organisation in face of the discriminatory law, and helping it to take the correct, revolutionary road of struggle.

While concentrating on the German working-class movement, they kept a close watch on the movement in other countries, particularly in Britain and France. As in Germany, they mustered cadres who could serve as the nucleus of a workers' party and patiently and perseveringly taught them the art of leading the masses.

They exhaustively studied the conditions under which the French working-class movement developed after the fall of the Commune, and the processes that were taking place in that movement. Engels considered that one of the basic shortcomings of the preceding revolutionary movement in France was the abyss between Paris and the provinces which gave revolutionary

Paris no assistance and, in some cases, even opposed it. Engels now noted as a favourable circumstance the fact that after 1871 the scissors between "revolutionary Babylon" and the provinces were beginning to close, and that the revolution's reserve, chiefly the peasants, was being galvanised into action.

Also favourable, Engels believed, was the circumstance, that the experience of the Paris Commune had dealt a mortal blow to Proudhonism, Blanquism and other petty-bourgeois theories that had been widespread in the French working-class movement. This enabled the French working-class movement to go over from the old, specifically French socialism to Marxism, the scientific theory of the international proletariat.

The founders of Marxism regarded the struggle against opportunism as a law governing the development of every workers' party, and insisted that proletarian parties should purge themselves of opportunists seeking to turn them into petty-bourgeois reformist parties.

Engels' concept of the laws governing the development of proletarian parties further specified the propositions on the party as the vanguard of the proletariat—propositions advanced by Marx and Engels in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. They were later developed and augmented on the basis of the experience of the revolutions of 1848-49, the still richer experience of the International and the Paris Commune and, lastly, on the basis of the struggle for the creation of Socialist parties in different countries.

These propositions were subsequently developed by Lenin into a harmonious teaching on the party as the principal weapon of the working

class in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the building of communism. Lenin's teaching on the party theoretically generalised the new experience of the proletarian class struggle in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

In France where the working class was solidly enveloped in a petty-bourgeois environment the formation of a proletarian party proceeded in an acute inner struggle, but in Britain the conditions for the formation of a workers' party were even more difficult.

Marx and Engels considered that one of the reasons for the lag of the working-class movement in Britain was the English workers' indifference to theory of any kind, and this made it easier for the bourgeoisie to influence them ideologically.

As a result no independent proletarian party existed in Britain. There were a few Socialist sects that were bitterly at loggerheads.

Launching a struggle in Britain for the creation of a mass proletarian party, Marx and Engels kept in touch with representatives of the British workers, helped them to master Marxist theory and propagated it through British newspapers. For example, Engels wrote a series of articles in 1881 for the newspaper *Labour Standard*, in which he showed the British workers that economic struggle alone was not enough, that it was necessary to set up a workers' party in order to put an end to capitalist exploitation. In these articles he underscored that though the struggle of the trade unions to increase wages and shorten the working day was important it could not

lead to a fundamental improvement of the workers' position.

In the article *A Workers' Party* Engels proved to the British proletariat that it was only an adjunct of the bourgeois Liberal Party. He used the example of the working-class movement on the continent to show that the proletariat of Britain had to form its own party and fight for political power.

In the gripping article *Necessary and Superfluous Social Classes,* he explained that the proletariat could manage large-scale industries efficiently without the interference of capitalists, and that this interference was becoming increasingly harmful.

Marx and Engels skilfully showed the basic shortcomings of the working-class movement in various countries and brought to light the obstacles that were preventing socialism from integrating with the working-class movement in these countries. In pressing for the creation of genuinely proletarian parties in different countries, they were able to show the working class of each country the decisive link that holds together the entire chain.

"From the scientific point of view," Lenin wrote, "we have here a sample of materialist dialectics, the ability to bring to the forefront and stress the various points, the various aspects of the problem, in application to the specific features of different political and economic conditions. From the point of view of the practical policy and tactics of the workers' party, we have here a sample of the way in which the creators of the *Communist Manifesto* defined the tasks of the fighting proletariat in accordance with the

different stages of the national working-class movements in different countries."[1]

At crucial moments the finest representatives of the working class of all countries have always turned to Marx and Engels for assistance and advice. The boundless authority and trust which Marx and Engels had won in the working-class movement made them the acknowledged leaders of the vanguard of the international proletariat.

Parallel with directing the working-class movement Marx and Engels continued their theoretical studies, which they regarded as a major component of their party work. "Both of us, M(arx) and I," Engels wrote to Becker, "have to undertake definite scientific work which, we have to declare, nobody at present is able or desires to take up. We have to take advantage of the present tranquil period of world history to complete this work. Who can tell how soon some development will again throw us into the thick of the practical movement; all the more must we use this short respite to further, a little at least, the no less important theoretical aspect of the movement."[2]

The main object of Marx's theoretical study was his work on the second and third volumes of *Capital*. But this work was now interrupted more and more frequently by his illness.

Painstaking scientific scrupulosity, strict self-criticism and a striving to generalise theoretically all the new phenomena of life compelled Marx to keep returning to the main problems of his work. Every theoretical generalisation in *Capital*

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 12, p. 362.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 26, p. 437.

was founded on a study of an immense range of facts.

Simultaneously with his colossal work of propagating Marxism and defending it in the press against the attacks of enemies, Engels continued his profound study of the natural sciences. This study, begun in snatches in Manchester, was continued after the Hague Congress in a fundamental work on dialectics in Nature. He wrote the introduction to this work, but had to put it aside in order to criticise the writings of Dühring. He returned to this work after completing *Anti-Dühring*, more or less finishing several chapters and writing numerous notes. However, after Marx's death he again put aside his *Dialectics of Nature*, which was never completed. The opportunist leaders of the German Social-Democratic movement kept this work behind seven seals for 30 years. It was first published in the USSR in 1925 in the German and Russian languages.

Although it is unfinished, *Dialectics of Nature* is remarkable both for the depth and wealth of ideas and for its theoretical importance.

The *Introduction* brilliantly outlines the development of natural science from the Renaissance to Darwin. Engels traces how the dialectical understanding of Nature paved the way for itself in struggle against metaphysical views. Here he stresses the role of practice, of production, which, in the last analysis, determines the development of science.

In *Dialectics of Nature* he philosophically generalises the conclusions of contemporary natural science and shows that in Nature everything takes place dialectically and that, therefore, ma-

terialist dialectics is the only method by which Nature can be correctly understood.

Tracing the various forms of the movement of matter and their unity, reciprocity and qualitative features, he gives a dialectical materialist classification of the natural sciences.

Throughout this work Engels wages an uncompromising struggle against pseudo-science. Denouncing the idealists and vulgar materialists and disproving metaphysics and crude empiricism, he sets forth the natural scientific principles of the dialectical materialist world outlook. In all branches of the natural sciences and mathematics he fights the adherents of the old and stagnated in science and supports everything that was new and progressive.

In examining the state of the natural sciences from the standpoint of dialectical materialism, the most advanced and most revolutionary world outlook, he looks far ahead, puts forward a series of extremely important scientific hypotheses and anticipates a number of scientific discoveries. For example, unlike most of the scientists of his day, he upholds the view that atoms are complex, that they are not simple tiny particles of matter. The further development of science confirmed this hypothesis.

In a brilliant article entitled *The Part Played by Labour in the Transition From Ape to Man*, he showed that labour played the decisive role in the formation of the human organism, in the development of speech, and in the rise of human society.

Engels put this great work aside, for good as it turned out, on March 14, 1883, the day Karl Marx died.

In the evening of March 14 Engels informed his friends and comrades-in-arms by telegraph that the international socialist movement had suffered an irreparable loss. "Although this evening," he wrote to Liebknecht, "I saw him lying immobile on his bed, his face still forever, I cannot yet get used to the hard fact that this brilliant mind has ceased to enrich the proletarian movement of both hemispheres with the power of its thought."[1]

"Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time,"[2] he wrote to Sorge.

The death of Marx was a double loss to Engels. Not only did the movement to which he had dedicated his whole life lose its brilliant leader. With the death of Marx he lost his second self, the companion of his entire conscious life, a true friend, and a comrade-in-arms.

On March 17, 1883 Marx was buried in London's Highgate Cemetery. Engels made a moving grave-side speech in which he spoke of Marx's great scientific feat and of his dedicated and heroic life as a champion of the proletariat, and of all working and oppressed people. He ended this speech with the prophetic words: "His name and work will outlive the ages!"

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 35, p. 383.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 361.

Engels After the Death of Marx (1883-1895)

During Marx's lifetime Engels did all that was humanly possible to pave the way for Marx's genius and help his great friend write *Capital*. After Marx's death he put aside all his scientific work without the least hesitation and devoted the remainder of his life to completing the work that was interrupted by Marx's illness and death—the publication of *Capital*.

First he had to publish the manuscript of the second volume, about which Marx told his daughter Eleanor shortly before his death that Engels had "to do something" out of this manuscript. Then came the turn of the third volume and, lastly, of the rough manuscript of the fourth volume *(Theories of Surplus Value)*, to say nothing of a series of other more or less major works of Marx.

Starting his work on the manuscripts of *Capital* at the age of 62, Engels was worried that he would not have time to complete it. He had to decipher Marx's illegible handwriting, sort out the manuscripts and put them together into a

single whole. There was nobody who could accomplish this except Engels.

When, soon after Marx's death, illness confined Engels to his bed, stopping his work on *Capital* for nearly half a year, he wrote: "This worries me very much because I am the *only person alive* who can read this handwriting and decipher the abbreviations of words and sentences."[1] After his illness he sat up nights copying the manuscripts in order to make up for lost time. As a result, illness struck again, and the doctors did not allow him to sit at a writing desk. He then hired an assistant and, lying on the couch, daily dictated from the manuscript from 10 in the morning to 5 in the evening.

The re-copying of the manuscript was only part of the work, but it was not the most important and difficult part. There was a vast amount of creative work to be done, and nobody save Engels could do it. Besides individual comprehensively written parts, in the manuscript there were similarly important parts that were only outlined. Some passages were given in several variants. Engels had to study the manuscript closely, edit some passages and make a number of additions. In his foreword to the second volume of *Capital* he stressed that he endeavoured to carry out these tasks "exclusively in the spirit of the author."

He finished his work on the manuscript of the second volume in February 1885 and sent it to the printers.

At once he got down to dictating the third volume. This work by Marx "is superb and bril-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, p. 352.

liant. It constitutes an unparalleled break-up of the old economic science. Our theory is only now acquiring an indestructible foundation, and we are getting the possibility of fighting any enemy victoriously."[1]

It cost Engels a great effort to complete the editing of the third volume. He had to arrange the material in the volume and make a series of necessary rearrangements and additions (each of which he carefully specified). For him this was a work of love and he approached it with the greatest thoroughness. He wrote that for him this manuscript served as "a source of the greatest scientific delight." "You have to work hard," he wrote, "when you are dealing with the manuscripts of a man like Marx, whose every word is worth its weight in gold. But this labour gives me pleasure, for it makes me feel that I am with my old friend again."[2]

It took nearly 10 years to prepare the third volume of *Capital* for the press. This was due not only to the enormous amount and complexity of the work, and not only because of Engels' failing eyesight. Besides the publication of the second and third volumes of *Capital*, Engels had to handle a mass of other work.

In addition to editing the English translation of the first volume, which he finished in 1886, he had to put out new editions of the first and second volumes, and prepare a number of publications and translations of other works by Marx (*The Poverty of Philosophy, The Eighteenth*

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 27, p. 459.

[2] Ibid., p 316.

Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, The Civil War in France, The Class Struggle in France and others) as well as his own works, and provide them with prefaces.

During the 12 years that he lived after the death of Marx, Engels wrote many articles and published two books of great theoretical importance. To some extent he regarded one of them—*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884)—as the fulfilment on his part of Marx's behest. Marx had planned to write such a work, had gathered material for it, but had not lived to write it.

This work by Engels was a tremendous step forward in the elaboration of the problems connected with materialist understanding of history. In it Engels deals with human society's remote past and lays the foundation for a Marxist approach to the study of pre-history, the origin of the family and the stages and forms of its development. The pivot of this work is an historical analysis of the conditions of the rise, development and future withering away of the state. Through an analysis of the preceding epochs of human history, beginning with primitive society, Engels traces the process of the rise of classes, the origin of the state and its role in the class struggle, and its distinguishing features and forms at the different phases of historical development.

He exposes the falsity of the bourgeois theories about the "above-class" nature of the state, proving on the basis of historical facts, that in a society with antagonistic classes the state is a weapon in the hands of the ruling class for the suppression and exploitation of the oppressed

class. Thus, in antique times the state was the instrument of the slave-owners for the suppression of the slaves; the feudal state was the weapon of the nobility for the suppression of the serfs, and the bourgeois state is the vehicle for the exploitation of hired labour by capital. This proposition also covers the most democratic bourgeois republic. "In it wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely. On the one hand, in the form of the direct corruption of officials, of which America provides the classical example; on the other hand, in the form of an alliance between government and Stock Exchange, which becomes the easier to achieve the more the public debt increases and the more joint-stock companies concentrate in their hands not only transport but also production itself, using the Stock Exchange as their centre."[1]

There were periods in history when classes and, consequently, the state were non-existent. A new and higher stage of historical development will inevitably come when the state will cease to exist. The dictatorship of the proletariat will put an end to classes and to exploitation. "They will fall as inevitably as they arose at an earlier stage. Along with them the state will inevitably fall. The society that will organise production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the Museum of Antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe." [2]

A similar idea about the withering away of the

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 321.
[2] Ibid., p. 322.

state was enlarged on by Engels in *Anti-Dühring*. This proposition of Engels', correct provided socialism triumphs simultaneously in all or the majority of countries, requires concretisation and specification under conditions where socialism triumphs in one or a few countries. In the latter case the socialist countries must have sufficiently strong state machinery to defend the gains of socialism against attack from without. The state remains in existence under communism, too, if the threat of military attack by capitalist states is not eliminated. However, the forms of the state and its functions will change in accordance with the changes in the internal and external situation.

Engels' other major work of this period was *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy* (brought out in 1888). It deals with the attitude of Marxism to its philosophical predecessors. Engels gives an outline of Hegel's philosophy and of the teaching of Feuerbach, stressing their influence in moulding his own and Marx's views; at the same time, he lays bare the basic flaws of Hegel's idealistic philosophy and the limited materialism of Feuerbach. As in his other works, he upholds partisanship in philosophy, regarding all issues from the angle of the struggle between two philosophical camps—materialism and idealism.

The letters which Engels wrote in the early 1890s to P. Ernst, J. Bloch, F. Mehring, H. Starkenburg and others are of great theoretical interest. In these letters he castigated the vulgarisers of historical materialism, who maintained that the economic factor was the only active force in the historical process, and that the political and

ideological superstructure was only a passive consequence, which exerted no influence on history. This vulgarisation of Marxism led to the fatalistic understanding of history as an automatic process accomplished without and apart from people. Engels explained that economic factors did not operate automatically, that history was made by the people, and that in the historical process economic conditions were the determining factor only in the last analysis.

"According to the materialist conception of history, the *ultimately* determining element in history is the production and reproduction of real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. Hence if somebody twists this into saying that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms that proposition into a meaningless, abstract, senseless phrase. The economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure—political forms of the class struggle and its results, to wit: constitutions established by the victorious class after a successful battle, etc., juridical forms, and even the reflexes of all these actual struggles in the brains of the participants, political, juristic, philosophical theories, religious views and their further development into systems of dogmas—also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases preponderate in determining their *form*."[1]

Developing the theory that the superstructure, including state power, exerts the reverse influence on the economy of society, Engels wrote to

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 417.

K. Schmidt on October 27, 1890: "Or why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat of political power is economically impotent?" [1]

Engels wrote with indignation of the latest "Marxists," all of whom felt that they had understood the new theory and could at once apply it upon mastering a few basic propositions, often incorrectly interpreted.

The struggle started by Engels against the vulgarisers of Marxism was continued by Lenin. For instance, in the struggle against the Economists and Mensheviks, who, sinking into vulgar materialism, reduced to nought the role of advanced theory and the role of the proletarian party, Lenin routed the opportunist theory of spontaneity and tail-endism, and raised aloft the importance of revolutionary theory, consciousness and the role of the party as the revolutionising and guiding force of the working-class movement.

Engels never returned to his work on the history of Ireland or to *Dialectics of Nature*. Neither was he destined to write a number of other works, which he had planned.

For instance, he intended to bring out in the German language a pamphlet on the role of compulsion in history. In addition to three chapters from *Anti-Dühring* he intended to include in the pamphlet a specially written chapter on the role played by compulsion in the history of Germany beginning from 1848. This work, started by Engels in 1888, was not completed.

Moreover, he planned to write a detailed biog-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 417.

raphy of Marx, the history of the German socialist movement for the period 1843-63, and a history of the First International. Instead, he was able to publish only a short biography of Marx, a few more chapters and a preface (*To the History of the Communist League, Marx and Neue Rheinische Zeitung* and so on), in which he dealt with the initial period of his collaboration with Marx in the struggle for a proletarian party.

He was deeply conscious of the responsibility which now devolved on him, when he had to replace Marx in the sphere of theory and in the sphere of practical political leadership.

To appreciate the scale and complexity of the task of leading the international socialist movement of those days, we must bear in mind that movement's huge growth *in breadth* and the diversity of the conditions and character of the struggle in different countries. In providing the socialist parties with leadership, Engels took into account general and specific features of the working-class movement of different countries. He studied each country closely, reading the growing socialist press, writing leading articles for socialist newspapers, carrying on a huge correspondence with Socialists in different countries and receiving numerous visitors at his home in London.

"After the death of Marx," Lenin wrote, "Engels continued alone as the counsellor and leader of the European socialists. His advice and directions were sought for equally by the German socialists, whose strength, despite government persecution, grew rapidly and steadily, and by representatives of backward countries, such as the Spaniards, Rumanians and Russians, who

were obliged to ponder and weigh their first steps. They all drew on the rich store of knowledge and experience of Engels in his old age."[1]

In giving advice and directions, Engels insisted that they be carried out, attentively followed the activity of each party and gave it every assistance in correcting its policy. He waged a tireless struggle against reformism and petty-bourgeois ultra-revolutionism.

In the Anglo-American Socialist movement, he criticised most sharply its isolation from the workers, its sectarianism and dogmatism, its inability to apply Marxist theory to the specific conditions of its respective countries.

He took into account the specifics of Britain and America, where on account of a number of economic and political conditions the proletariat had at the time displayed practically no political independence, and in the political respect was following in the wake of the bourgeoisie, which was particularly skilled in deceiving, corrupting and bribing the workers.

The principal task of the Socialists of these countries was to stir the working-class movement to political activity, set it in motion and organise the worker masses even on a low political level, in order to breach the dam of bourgeois influence.

For that reason Engels sharply criticised the German Socialists in America, who, having turned the theory of scientific communism into a dead dogma, were trying to impose it on the backward American workers, who were indifferent to theories in general.

---

[1] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 26.

"The Germans," Engels wrote, "have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has got to be learned by heart and which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is a credo and not a guide to action."[1]

He believed that the task of the Socialists of America was "to go in for any real general working-class movement, accept its actual starting point as such, and work it gradually up to the theoretical level by pointing out how every mistake made, every reverse suffered, was a necessary consequence of mistaken theoretical views in the original programme: they ought, in the words of the *Communist Manifesto: 'to represent in the moment of the present the future of that movement.'* "[2]

This was the only realistic way, a way conforming to American conditions, of creating in the USA an advanced mass workers' party, for which Engels fought. Such were the tactics which he patiently and perseveringly taught the American Socialists.

The situation in the British Socialist movement was somewhat similar. In Britain the second half of the 1880s witnessed a rapid upsurge of a mass working-class movement—a movement of the unemployed, the setting up of the first trade unions of unskilled workers, and militant strikes, of which the biggest was the strike of the London

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 395.
[2] Ibid., p. 399.

dockers in 1889. Engels was particularly happy over this strike, feeling that it was the turning-point in the British working-class movement. He was delighted that the wind of revolution had begun to blow in the British working-class movement in which the fusty, conservative spirit of the old trade unionism had prevailed so long, that the mass of unskilled workers (dockers, gas workers and others) were beginning to organise themselves into a new movement and were setting an example for other contingents of the proletariat.

Engels took a very active part in this movement. He rallied round himself a small group of Socialists, who included Marx's daughter Eleanor, her husband Aveling and the Engels' proletarian supporters such as Thomas Mann and John Burns. On Engels' insistence Aveling started energetic agitation in the working-class districts of London's East End, among workers who were swinging to radical positions. The slogans he put forward were an eight-hour working day and the creation of an independent political organisation of the proletariat. Under Engels' direction the Avelings, Burns and Mann played an outstanding part in organising the strike struggle at the close of the 1880s and in setting up trade unions of unskilled workers.

In response to the mass movement of the 1880s, an attempt was made early in the 1890s to found an independent political party of the proletariat. Engels regarded with favour the formation in 1893 of the Independent Labour Party, which was joined also by his supporters—the Avelings, Mann and others. He believed that if the Party pursued a correct policy it would

become a really mass workers' party. However, opportunist elements soon gained the upper hand in it and Engels' supporters resigned.

As long as mass Socialist parties were not set up in a number of leading countries and as long as the political situation in Europe and America did not reach a level of aggravation that urgently placed the establishment of a new International on the agenda, Engels rejected all suggestions for setting up a new international proletarian organisation, believing them to be premature.

However, when a struggle flared up between the Marxist and opportunist wings of the working-class movement round the convocation of an international workers' congress in Paris in 1889, and when the opportunist elements headed by the French Possibilists and the Hyndman-led Social-Democratic Federation started energetic preparations to set up an international organisation, Engels rushed into battle with the vigour of a youth in order to forestall these attempts at organising an opportunist International.

Putting aside all his other work for over three months, he launched on vigorous activity to foil this plan and, in opposition to the Possibilists, secure the success of the international congress of Socialists that was being convened in Paris on the initiative of the French Labour Party.

Engels regarded the struggle that started over the convocation of the international congress as a continuation of the old struggle in the First International and of the struggle at the Hague Congress. "The adversaries are the same," he wrote to Sorge, "only with this difference, that the banner of the Anarchists has been replaced

by the banner of the Possibilists: the selling of principles to the bourgeoisie for small-scale concessions, especially in return for well-paid jobs for the leaders (on the city councils, labour exchanges, etc.). And the tactics are exactly the same."[1]

Engels' struggle against the opportunists was a necessary prerequisite ensuring the success of the Paris Congress, at which the Second International was founded. The Possibilists and the Social-Democratic Federation failed in their attempts to play the leading part in setting up the new international organisation of the proletariat.

Parallel with his struggle against the reformists and conciliators, Engels fought the anarchists and "Left" anarchist elements in the International. He welcomed the decision of the Brussels Congress (1891) expelling the anarchists from the International.

At its Paris Congress the Second International instituted May Day as an annual international holiday of the proletariat. Engels regarded this holiday as the first international *action* of the fighting proletariat, and on May 1, 1890 he wrote a preface to the new German edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* in which he traced the history of the *Manifesto* and showed that this history to some extent mirrored the history of the working-class movement after 1848. He recalled that when 42 years previously he and Marx had sounded the call: "Workers of all countries, unite!" there was only a weak response. Since then the working-class movement had made great headway, and proof of this, he poin-

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Selected Correspondence,* p. 404.

ted out, was the May Day holiday of the international proletariat. Despite his age, Engels invariably attended all the May Day demonstrations of the British workers.

He took part in the Third Congress of the International in Zurich (1893), and made a speech at the closing session first in English and French and then in German. Deeply moved by the rousing reception given him by the Congress delegates, he said that he accepted it not as being meant for him personally but "only for the collaborator of the great man whose picture hangs there," and he pointed to a portrait of Marx. "Exactly 50 years ago," he said, "Marx and I joined the movement, publishing our first socialist articles in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*. Since then socialism has grown from a small group into a mighty party that is making the entire official world tremble. Marx is dead, but were he alive today there is no man in Europe or America who could look back to the cause of his life with such legitimate pride." [1]

Engels' journey to the Zurich Congress, during which he visited also Vienna and Berlin, developed into a triumphal tour. Speaking at rallies in these cities, he stressed, as in Zurich, that the ovation given him he owed not to himself personally but to the great Marx whose collaborator and comrade-in-arms he was. "If I have managed to do something for the movement in the course of the 50 years I have been associated with it, I demand no reward for it," he said in Vienna. "You yourselves are my best reward."

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, p. 368

(Approval). "My reward is the whole world. We have comrades in the prisons of Siberia, in the goldfields of California, everywhere, down to Australia... We are a great power inspiring fear, a power on which more depends than on other great powers. That is where my pride lies."[1]

Engels' party and political work increased still further in scale with the foundation of the Second International. He attentively watched the first steps of the new international organisation, giving an immediate rebuff to all attempts to deviate from the proletarian line.

A year before his death he sharply condemned opportunist views on the agrarian question. The cause for this condemnation was the agrarian programme of the French Socialists, adopted at the Nantes Congress of the Labour Party in 1894.

In this programme the French Labour Party undertook to protect peasant ownership from ruin in capitalist society instead of explaining to the peasants that the transition from small-scale farming to social production under the leadership of the victorious proletariat was historically inevitable and advantageous. The French Socialists promised to "save" the property not only of the small peasants but also of the peasant-tenants who used and exploited hired labour on their farms.

The French Socialists were not alone in putting forward this opportunist programme. At the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party in 1894, a report on the agrarian

---

[1] K. Marx. F. Engels. *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, p. 370.

programme was delivered by Vollmar, who suggested including in it a series of measures that would "save" the peasants from ruin. He referred to the Nantes programme of the French Socialists, which, he claimed, had been "approved by Frederick Engels." Engels had earlier sharply denounced the opportunism of Vollmar and the Bavarian Social-Democrats influenced by him. He now considered it was necessary to make a public statement against the Nantes programme and against Vollmar. He carried out this intention in the article *The Peasant Question in France and Germany* (1894). In this article he levelled scathing criticism at the French Socialists and Vollmar for their opportunist adaptation of the proletarian party's programme to the petty-proprietor illusions of the peasants.

Formerly he had repeatedly pointed out that the influx of petty-bourgeois elements and peasants was testimony of the colossal successes of the social-democratic movement: the fact that they were joining this movement was proof that the proletariat had in fact become the leading class. However, he made the point that it should not be forgotten that the proletariat could not discharge its historical leading role if it made opportunist concessions to petty-bourgeois and peasant illusions and ambitions.

He saw these extremely dangerous opportunist concessions in the Nantes programme, which promised to perpetuate peasant proprietorship instead of explaining to the peasants that capitalist large-scale production would crush mercilessly their outmoded small-scale production.

He stressed the importance of the peasant question and its great significance to the Socia-

list parties. In order to win political power, even in countries with the highest level of industrial development, the Socialist parties had to go to the countryside and become a force there. While showing the workers' parties that they had to carry on agitation in the countryside, Engels opposed any unprincipled chase after peasant votes at elections and attempts to win over sections of the peasantry, which, because of their position, could not become allies of the proletariat.

He emphasised that a differentiated approach had to be adopted towards the peasantry, towards its different groups and strata. He outlined the tactics to be adopted by the Socialist parties before and after the conquest of power towards the small, middle and rich peasants and, lastly, towards the big landowners.

While analysing the question of the attitude the Socialist party had to adopt towards the peasants after the seizure of power by the working class, Engels did not undertake to predetermine the concrete ways in which the small peasant economy would be switched to collective socialist farming because these forms depended on the concrete conditions and circumstances in which the proletariat would take over political power. For that reason he only gave the basic outline of the policy to be pursued by the victorious proletariat towards the small peasants, writing that it is "evident that when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small

peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to co-operative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today." [1]

The ruling classes had seen for themselves the collapse of Bismarck's attempts to isolate the Social-Democrats from the masses by means of the discriminatory law. As a result on January 25, 1890 the Reichstag refused to prolong the law against the Socialists, and the ruling class went over to a "new course," to "soft" tactics, to a policy of flirting with the working-class movement.

The conditions for the German Social-Democratic movement changed radically with the abrogation of the discriminatory law: the party now had the possibility of conducting its agitation, propaganda and organisational work legally.

The change of the tactics employed by the ruling classes brought into focus the question of party tactics, and this laid bare a party crisis approximately of the same character as at the close of the 1870s, when the law against Socialists was promulgated.

First, a "Left"-opportunist opposition as represented by the "Young" (so-called because it was headed by a group of young writers and students who laid claim to the role of the party's theoreticians and leaders) came on the scene. This opposition failed to see the need for utilising legal

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 2, p. 433.

possibilities, demanded that the party should cease its parliamentary activity and accused the whole party of opportunism and of serving the interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

Engels ridiculed the conceit and illusions of the "Young" about their weight and importance in the party. He showed them the road that the party member had to follow and the qualities that he had to possess in order to occupy a leading position in the party. "They must realise that their 'academic education', which apart from all else demands thorough self-criticism, by no means gives them an officer's rank with the right to the corresponding post in the party; that in our party everyone must begin as a rank-and-file member; that to occupy responsible posts in the party it is not enough to have literary talent and theoretical knowledge, even when the one and the other are plainly evident, but that in addition this requires a good knowledge of the conditions in which the party wages its struggle and complete mastery of the forms of this struggle, tested personal loyalty and force of character and, lastly, voluntary association with the fighters; in other words: these people with an 'academic education', on the whole have much more to learn from the workers than the workers from them." [1]

Engels' anxiety was also aroused by Bernstein, who began to show signs of wanting to "emancipate" himself from Engels' influence, from the day-to-day influence that Engels had once had on the editor of *Der Socialdemokrat,* especially

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, pp. 62-63.

after the newspaper was transferred from Switzerland to London.

Even Bebel, whom Engels valued more than any other leader of the German Social-Democratic Party, with all his superb qualities, did not always display staunchness, consistency and determination in the struggle against opportunist elements in the party.

All this gave rise to the danger that the opportunist elements, who were gaining strength, would influence the draft of the programme which the party was scheduled to adopt at its Erfurt Congress in 1891 to replace the old Gotha programme. Engels felt that the time was most opportune for dealing a decisive blow at opportunism. With this in mind he suggested that *Neue Zeit*, ideological organ of the German Social-Democratic movement, should print Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which in 1875 was intended solely for the leaders of the party and was therefore not made public. This suggestion encountered opposition from the leadership of the German Social-Democratic movement. It was only Engels' threat of publishing this document in Vienna that made Kautsky print it in the journal he headed.

Engels knew that he was striking a crushing blow at the opportunists by publishing this document in which Marx witheringly criticised the reformist illusions of the Lassalleans and comprehensively formulated his views on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on the transition to communism.

In opposition to the opportunist theories of a gradual growth into socialism under conditions in which the bourgeois state continues to exist, En-

gels put forward the experience of the Paris Commune, which proved in practice that upon coming to power and "in order not to lose again its only just conquered supremacy, this working class must, on the one hand, do away with all the old repressive machinery previously used against it itself, and, on the other, safeguard itself against its own deputies and officials, by declaring them all, without exception, subject to recall at any moment." [1]

While the party rank-and-file enthusiastically welcomed these actions by Engels, some of the conciliatory-minded leaders of the party expressed their indignation and dissatisfaction. One of the ways in which they did this was to cease their correspondence with Engels. This sort of demonstration left Engels unmoved.

In his criticism of the draft programme that was to be debated at the party's Erfurt Congress (1891), Engels analysed in detail the programme's theoretical section and its political and economic demands. His critical remarks about the political demands are of the greatest interest.

He emphatically opposed the attempts to force upon the party the view that under the political system in operation in Germany the Social-Democratic movement could secure the realisation of all its demands in a peaceful, legal manner.

Engels' critical observations proved to be effective. The draft programme was somewhat amended. Although the Erfurt programme was a step forward compared with the programme adopted at Gotha, it had, despite Engels' criticism, a crucial shortcoming: it contained no thesis

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel. Works*, Vol. 1, p. 483.

on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Of all the parties belonging to the Second International, only the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, thanks to the struggle waged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, adopted at its Second Congress (1903) a programme, in which the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat was formulated in clear-cut terms.

In his *Introduction* to Marx's *The Class Struggle in France* written in March 1895, i.e., precisely when the law against revolution was debated in the Reichstag, Engels proved that at the time it was not the Social-Democratic movement but the ruling classes who wanted a revolution. He stressed that in the obtaining situation legality was working in favour of the Social-Democratic movement, that persevering work by the Social-Democratic party aimed at winning more and more influence over the masses was making the ruling classes desperate. The ruling classes, therefore, wanted to provoke the proletariat into premature action, lure it into the streets where it could be butchered.

The conditions for street fighting, Engels stressed, had changed since 1848 and 1871. The army was incomparably better armed, the railways allowed moving troops quickly, and the long, straight streets of the new neighbourhoods of the large cities facilitated action with improved artillery and small arms.

"Does that mean that in the future street fighting will no longer play any role? Certainly not. It only means that the conditions since 1848 have become far more unfavourable for civilian fighters and far more favourable for the military. In future, street fighting can, therefore, be victo-

rious only if this disadvantageous situation is compensated by other factors." [1] What are these factors? In street fighting, Engels replies, it would be necessary to go over from the old, passive barricade tactics to open offensive tactics, and this would demand the use of considerable forces in battle. Moral influences would have to be brought into play on the army in order to get the troops to refuse to fire at the people. A key task of the party at this stage, Engels pointed out, was to prepare its forces for the future decisive battles, and win over the broad masses, including the working peasants.

"To keep this growth (the party's forces—Author) going without interruption until it of itself gets beyond the control of the prevailing governmental system, not to fritter away this daily increasing shock force in vanguard skirmishes, but to keep it intact until the decisive day, that is our main task." [2]

Such were the basic points made in the *Introduction to The Class Struggle in France*—the last work Engels was destined to publish.

In putting out the *Introduction* he had to reckon with the demand of the party leadership in Germany that he take into account the tense situation stemming from the discussion of the law against revolution, and word some passages in the *Introduction* more cautiously. Engels wrote of this to Kautsky on March 25, 1895: "*My* text has suffered somewhat from the indecision of our Berlin friends, who fear a law against

---

[1] K. Marx F. Engels, *Sel. Works*. Vol. 1, p. 133.
[2] Ibid., p. 135.

attempts to depose the existing system, an indecision which in the given circumstances I had to reckon with."[1]

However, some of the German Social-Democratic leaders felt this was not enough and falsified Engels' *Introduction*. His indignation may well be imagined when he saw in *Vorwärts*, the party's central organ, extracts from the *Introduction* printed without his knowledge.

He protested in the strongest terms to some leaders of the German Social-Democratic party and informed the leaders of other parties of this.

Subsequently, distorting facts, the opportunists declared that in the *Introduction*, the last article written by Engels, he had revised his views and adopted a reformist stand. These people shrunk from no means to hurl monstrous slander at a man who had devoted his whole life to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and relentlessly exposed the danger of reformism and opportunism.

Engels believed that the impending war was one of the factors that could sharply change the conditions of the struggle waged by the German Social-Democratic Party and, consequently, cause it to change its tactics. He anxiously followed the war preparations, the detente between France and Russia forecast by Marx in the *Address of the General Council of the International* in 1870, and the formation of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, Italy). He stressed that the coming war would be unprecedented in scale and

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 39, p. 367.

destruction, that as distinct from so-called local wars, this would be a world war.

During the last years of his life he noted some new phenomena in the development of the capitalist economy—the emergence of joint-stock companies and trusts and the growing role of the stock market and banks in industry, agriculture, capital investments abroad and, lastly, the division of colonies. However, he could not yet grasp the main changes that were beginning to take place in world economy and politics as a result of the transition to the new epoch, the epoch of imperialism, and consequently see that the future world war would be an imperialist war.

In the articles *Foreign Policy of Russian Tsarism* (1890) and *Socialism in Germany* (1891), and also in letters to Socialists in different countries he continued to regard Russian tsarism as the main fortress of European reaction, against which the Socialists of Western Europe had to wage a life-and-death struggle. He believed that in the near future the prerequisites for a socialist revolution would mature in Germany. He felt that the victory of tsarist Russia jointly with France over Germany would have greatly retarded the German working-class movement and, therefore, considered that in the event of war the Socialists of Germany would have to defend their country. However, he stressed that Germany's real defence could only be ensured by revolutionary methods, through the seizure of power by the Social-Democrats, who would head the revolutionary movement.

Anxiously noting the mounting threat of a world war, he called upon the Socialists of all countries to fight energetically for the preserva-

tion of peace. "Sincere international co-operation will only be possible among the European peoples when each of these peoples becomes master of its own home." [1]

* * *

With the deterioration of the international situation and the approach of a period of new revolutionary battles Engels became particularly interested in Russia's internal development and the prospects of the Russian revolution.

This huge country situated in the east of Europe and in remote Asia was a colossal factor in European politics, and it had long attracted the attention of Marx and Engels. As long as no independent mass democratic movement was started in Russia and as long as the revolutionary forces that could overthrow tsarism had not taken shape, Marx and Engels used the pages of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* to call for a revolutionary war against Russian tsarism as the strongest bastion of European reaction.

Hence the great sympathy and active support accorded by them to the Polish national liberation movement directed against Russian tsarism and, therefore, having at the time "...an immense and paramount importance from the point of view, not only of Russian, not only of Slav, but of European democracy as a whole." [2]

As Marx and Engels foresaw, Russian tsarism was the "European policeman" in the revolutions

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, p. 282.

[2] Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 20, p. 433.

of 1848-49, sending troops to suppress the national liberation and revolutionary-democratic uprising in Hungary.

After these revolutions they closely followed tsarism's foreign policy and the developments in Russia herself. Their knowledge of the Russian language and of Russian literature enabled them to take a closer look at Russia and her 100-million-strong people and culture, while their scientific theory allowed them to understand the course of social development in Russia more profoundly than any of their contemporaries.

They kept an eye on the formation of the social forces that were beginning to undermine Russian tsarism from within, and on the dissatisfaction that was reaching formidable proportions among the Russian peasants as a result of their steadily deteriorating position.

Engels wrote a number of articles in which he proved that in Russia instead of removing social contradictions the peasant reform had only intensified them and made the feudal survivals more intolerable. "This great act of emancipation," Engels wrote prophetically about the peasant reform of 1861, "so unanimously lauded and hailed by the liberal press of Europe, created nothing save a firm foundation and an absolute need for the future revolution." [1]

With the awakening of the peasants and the growth of the revolutionary-democratic movement Marx and Engels began to regard Russia as a country that would give a powerful impetus to the European revolution.

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels. *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 15, p. 408.

Like Marx, Engels attentively studied Russia's economic development and followed the progress of Russian science and literature. His acquaintance with Russian science and advanced social thinking allowed him to appreciate the intellectual and moral qualities of the Russian people. He believed in their staunchness and unbending strength.

He was particularly appreciative of the Russian-revolutionary youth for their determined and self-sacrificing quest of scientific truth and genuine revolutionary theory. Marx had noted that nowhere was the response to his *The Poverty of Philosophy* (1847) and *Critique of Political Economy* (1859) so great as in Russia. Also significant was the fact that the Russian edition of *Capital* was the first foreign translation of that great work. The numerous reports of the interest that Russian scholars and the Russian revolutionary youth were showing in *Capital* brought Marx to the conclusion that this work was read and valued in Russia more than anywhere else.

In *Social Relations in Russia* (1875) and a number of other articles Engels proved how little the Narodnik (Populist) views had in common with historical facts and Russian reality. Communal land ownership was not a feature peculiar to Russia alone. It had existed among other peoples when they were at a lower phase of development. He ridiculed the assertions of the Narodniks that although the Russian peasants were proprietors they were closer to Socialism than the property-less proletarians of Western Europe.

He showed that economic development, the industrial revolution in Russia, the expansion of

the domestic market, and commodity relations were undermining the village community, that economic inequality was growing more pronounced in it, that along with the landowner, the usurer, kulak and extortioner (these were frequently written in Russian by Engels) were appearing in the countryside, and that the proletarianisation of the peasants was being accomplished. He stressed that in conditions of the village community this proletarianisation was proceeding very slowly and painfully.

Did that mean that like the West Russia was fated to go through a long period of capitalist development and the disintegration of the village community or would communal ownership pass directly to a higher form, to socialist ownership? This question was repeatedly put to Marx and Engels by Russian revolutionaries.

In their foreword to the Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, brought out in 1882, Marx and Engels answered this question as follows:

"If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting-point for a communist development." [1]

Engels enthusiastically hailed the appearance in Russia of the first supporters of Marxism—the Emancipation of Labour groups. He took pride in the fact that in the Russian revolutionary movement there were people who had broken with Narodnik views and had adopted scientific

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Sel Works*, Vol. I, p. 24.

communism, the theory of the international proletariat.

During the last years of his life he happily noted the advance of socialism in East and Southeast Europe and the appearance of Socialist outposts on the frontiers of Asia and on the shores of the Black and Aegean seas. He proudly counterposed the tsarist edicts and threats with the Socialist works of the foremost fighters of the Russian proletariat.

He did not live to see a genuine proletarian party emerge in Russia, nor the Russian revolution which, as he had forecast, marked a turning point in history. His hope that he would yet "glance into the 20th century" and live to see Europe re-enter the fairway of revolution was not destined to come true.

* * *

Although Engels was past 70, he remained youthfully brisk and vigorous. Judging by his quick, sturdy and straight figure, by the beard slightly touched by grey and the head with hardly a grey hair, one would never say he was over 50. He was even younger in spirit. His mind was as keen as ever and he retained his sense of humour. Marx's daughter Eleanor relates that on the trip to the United States which Engels undertook in 1888 with Eleanor, her husband and the chemist Karl Schorlemmer, he was the merriest and most animated companion. He took his daily walk on deck in any weather, never by-passing any obstacle but jumping or climbing over it. In

1890, accompanied by his friend Schorlemmer, he visited Norway.

To the very last Engels had a tremendous capacity for work. He continued to do work which would take at least ten people to handle. His daily mail was enormous: every day the postman brought a pile of newspapers and letters in all European languages to the little house on Regents Park Road. Engels found time to read and reply to all these letters and respond to all events.

He worked methodically, with concentration. Strict order reigned in his home. "In his large, well-lighted studies, whose walls were lined with bookcases, there was not a scrap of paper on the floor, and all his books were in their places with the exception of a dozen or so on his desk... He was just as particular about his appearance, he was always trim and scrupulously clean, always looking as though ready to go to a parade... I do not know anybody who wore the same clothes for such a long time without creasing them or making them shabby. He was economical as far as his personal needs were concerned and incurred only such expenses as he deemed absolutely necessary, but his generosity towards the party and his party comrades when they applied to him in need knew no bounds."[1]

Engels' house was a place of pilgrimage for people from all countries. A multi-lingual hum pervaded his house, particularly on Sundays which was the usual day for visitors. Those fortunates who visited him cherished the memory of these unforgettable Sunday evenings, which

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 93.

Engels brightened with his wit, captivating animation and sparkling humour.

However great the stream of visitors, the doors of Engels' house were not hospitably open to everybody. His vast political experience had taught him to be suspicious of strangers or doubtful characters and he unceremoniously showed the door to those who had betrayed the cause of the proletariat. "There is one thing that Engels never forgives," Eleanor Marx wrote, "—deceit. A man who is deceitful towards himself, and all the more towards his party, finds no mercy with Engels. For him those are unforgivable sins." [1]

Despite his prominence in the international working-class movement, he remained simple and modest. For instance, when he learned that the chorus group of the London Communist Workers' Educational League was planning a concert to celebrate his birthday he insisted that it drop this plan. "Both Marx and I," he wrote, "have always been against any public demonstration with regard to individuals, with the exception of cases when they serve some important purpose: more so had we always been against such demonstrations with regard to ourselves." [2] He attributed chiefly to the services rendered by Marx the honours and attention that were accorded to him, Engels, as the acknowledged leader of the Socialist parties. On his 70th birthday, when telegrams, letters and gifts rained down on him and articles devoted to him appeared in the party press, he wrote: "Such is my lot that I reap the

---

[1] *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, p. 188.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 28, p. 385.

glory and honour, whose seeds were sown by a man greater than I—Karl Marx. All I can do is to promise that I shall devote the remainder of my life to the proletariat in order to be worthy as far as I can of the honours bestowed on me."[1]

While he honoured the memory of Marx and was proud of the success of the cause for which they had fought, he was relentless in his attacks on those who tried to cast slurs on or slander Marx, and thereby injure the international working-class movement. For instance, he wrote a pamphlet castigating Brentano, who accused Marx of falsifying a quotation from a speech by Gladstone. He exposed the speciousness of this assertion on the basis of documents. He revered the memory not only of Marx but also of Marx's wife Jenny, who, as Engels said, not only shared the lot, work and struggle of her husband, but actively participated in them thoughtfully and with ardour. He transferred his love for Marx to his children. When an accusation brought against Eleanor's husband Aveling indirectly involved her as well, Engels launched a campaign in her defence. "Marx asked me," he wrote, "to look after his children as he had looked after them himself, and defend them as far as I can against slander. I shall do this even if I have to act against fifty executive committees." [2]

Engels had the greatest respect and felt grateful to Marx's loyal friend Helene Demuth, his old housekeeper, who was regarded as a member of the family. Marx's daughter Eleanor speaks

---

[1] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed., Vol. 16, Part II, p. 78.

[2] K. Marx, F. Engels, *Works*, Russ. Ed. Vol. 27, p. 617.

of her as "the most noble of women." When Marx died she moved to Engels' house. Engels was living alone after the death of his wife Lizzy (1878), and Helene became his housekeeper.

Engels sadly watched the ranks of his old friends and comrades-in-arms thinning—the old guard of proletarian fighters was dying. To the end of his life he cherished the hope of living to see the time that would usher in the triumph of the proletariat, put an end to class antagonisms and wars between nations and bring peace and happiness in the civilised world.

He still hoped to participate in the coming decisive battle and was only sorry that he could no longer ride a horse. For him life meant work, and work signified battle. He wanted to give his remaining strength to the struggle for the proletarian cause.

However, the years took their own. On December 4, 1894 he wrote to Sorge that at 75 he was no longer as full of spirits as before, but he was strong, had not lost the desire to work and was relatively able-bodied.

When Engels wrote these lines his organism was being corroded by a terrible disease, which his doctors were concealing from him—cancer of the aesophagus. Soon his health deteriorated sharply and pain began to torture him. Feeling that the end was approaching, Engels awaited death with courageous calm.

Frederick Engels died at about 11 p. m. on August 5, 1895.

In accordance with his wish he was given a very modest funeral. It was attended only by his closest friends, pupils and comrades-in-arms —altogether some 80 persons.

Also in accordance with his wish, his body was cremated, the ashes were taken to his favourite spot on the seashore at Eastbourne, and on a stormy autumn day the waves carried them away.

* * *

Frederick Engels died on the borderline of a new epoch—the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. History now posed before the working class a series of new and complicated questions, to which there was no direct and exhaustive answer in the works of Marx and Engels. It was necessary, after the example set by Marx and Engels, to develop their revolutionary theory in conformity with the new historical conditions of the proletarian class struggle.

This was a period when Marxism was put to a stern test. Overt opportunists, who sought to revise its basic postulates, came to the fore after Engels' death.

In this period when the historical destiny of Marxism was being decided, it was saved from distortion and vulgarisation by Vladimir Lenin, brilliant theoretician and leader of the working class, and by his genuinely Marxist party.

Lenin who tackled the entire range of problems put forward by the new epoch not only defended Marxism from distortion and vulgarisation but enlarged on it on the basis of the experience of the working class of Russia and the experience of the world liberation movement. Thus, drawing upon the experience of the Paris Commune generalised by Marx and Engels and on the still richer experience of two Russian revolutions, Le-

nin discovered Soviet power as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Acting in the spirit of Marxism, he did not hesitate to replace some obsolete propositions and conclusions of Marx and Engels with new propositions and conclusions that conformed to the new historical epoch. For example, on the basis of his discovery of the law of uneven economic and political development in the period of imperialism, he drew the conclusion that the old formula of Marx and Engels that socialism cannot triumph in one country alone was not in accordance with the new historical conditions, that in these conditions the socialist revolution could be triumphant in one, single country.

The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have become the banner of hundreds of millions of people in the West and the East. No theory has had such a mighty impact on the entire course of historical development as the great creative teaching of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

Е. СТЕПАНОВА
ФРИДРИХ ЭНГЕЛЬС
на английском языке
Цена 42 коп.